/13 cont./

Measure of This Space

804 Nothing would be more erroneous than to appraise the mass of the country according to our metric system. The real unit, which is the man's very same measure, is the duration of the effort of the agile walker or the notable perched on a mule at a lively trot. Moreover, it would be necessary that this duration be appraisable quantitatively. It is not, of course, in hours and 805 minutes. At the very most, the interval between prayers, themselves marked by the positions of the sun, could serve as a standard. But one hardly prays. To tell the truth, it is even looser measurements: morning, noon, evening, ççbah', zziwal, içfirar, which would be the most sympathetic to the heart. But we shall not repeat here the reflections of Lucien Febvre on the "temps flottant" /fluctuating time/, the "temps dormant" /dormant time/ of societies of "médiéval" type (1).

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1. L. Febvre, Le problème de l'incroyance au XVI^e^ siècle /The problem of unbelief in the sixteenth century/, 1942, pp. 426 to 434, and G. Friedmann, "L'homme et le milieu naturel /Man and the natural milieu/," Ann. hist. soc., 1945, II, pp. 109 sq.

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804 805 Moreover, it being a question of mechanical time, I mean very precisely time serving to measure or to divide up an effort very precise and of constant duration, it is indeed hours that we shall avail ourselves of in order to measure Seksawa space, just as the officers of the penetration did.

184 804 Let us disregard the immense confines which, beyond the villages, on the Tichka side, as on that of the Ras Mulay Ali, extend much farther still. Seksawa life, the life of the valley bottom, which is the municipal life, the dense life with full potential, is measured by /14/ very slight durations. We shall see, in fact: the intercalary spaces correspond to other rhythms, entablatures separating the valleys, rounded summits, and, with

/14 cont./

184 804 stronger reason, intertribal pasturages. The shepherd's measure is not that of the village horticulturist; it is hardly that of the citizen. If one wanted to subtilize, one would also contrast to this measure of honest people that of the mule tracks, that of the military expedition. The latter disregards the beaten paths; arrives in lightning fashion, having crossed forests and escarpments. In the recent period a great warrior, Caïd Lmokhtar of the a. Lh'sen, would be a man of these unforeseen events, of these topographical lightning flashes, one might say. Measure of the shepherd, measure of the warrior: these variants, the one enlarging, the other taking up to excess Seksawa space, have their value as indices of the individual psychology and the social rhythms; one can eliminate them, however, in a careful analysis based on a certain civic constancy.

487 484 804 823 The rose of distances appearing in the sketch below (Fig. 3),[1] and whose heart is Lalla Aziza, suggests various reflections which will not be fruitless for understanding the milieu. These durations, calculated in walking time on the path that follows the bed, certainly reflect different factors, such as the difficulty of the terrain, the meanders, the multiplicity of fords, etc. But even more they express, and very exactly, the idea that the Seksawa of all times were able to have about the size of the cantons. And through this we are given most truly the dimensions of a history. What is manifest is the disproportion between the upper branches and the lower part of the rose. One view, based on the concepts of the plain -- and, let us take care here, on what others would the observers, from Ibn Khaldûn to us, base themselves on? -- stresses, be it in knowledge or action, the nearest sectors. The man of the plain loses his zeal to understand or to intervene in the same proportion as the distance increases and his eyes become weary on the snowy background. But one authentic view, the one that this society itself has, places the main point, on the contrary, high above, in the inviolate lair, the best defended in any case from intelligence /in the original text, double quotation marks follow the word renseignement, intelligence, information/ by the relief, legend, and an uncertainty

[1] [For figure 3, see p.24--Analyst]

241 233 556 /26 cont./ It involves transport, vast displacements, for which only the rich man is competent. It is therefore not for everyone that it will permit this incessant "remue" /moving/ so characteristic of our mountain peasants. Only the notable, fit for long-range conflicts, will launch out up there. Agricultural democracy reigns lower, very near the village, where it persists in its balcony horticulture. The rich man, through his associate, or his poor cousins, or his shepherds, tends the confines between cantons. On these heights, the accords, the dramas, and the truces of an international law are substituted for the valley-bottom law, narrowly municipal. Arising there from the contemplation of vast perspectives, necessary for the flocks, are strategies for expansion felt and sustained by the group the more because, along with the cultivations of the chief, it is the possession of the mountain pasturelands and the impluvium of the torrents that they put in play.

184 241 A completely different life style in the depths of the valley. From above, one would call it a patient design, all in curves of levels. To the fawn color of the walls contrast, depending upon the season, the bright ocher of the tilled lands, the green of the young shoots, or the gold of the crops. This whole world of bright colors and minute geometries, chessboards of parcels, parallels of terraces, breaks off abruptly toward the heights, at the groove of a séguia. Beyond, and to infinity, it is schistose rock, forest, pasturage. On this side bubbles a persevering and cloistered life. In this island formed by the mountains in the bosom of the steppe, the village is itself an island. It is the island of the island. Extraordinary values of synthesis, of concentration break through here.

241 The French word balcon /balcony/ quite naturally evokes the idea of these cultivations that we also speak of as on benches, or on terraces, or on steps. It expresses well these notches on a descending surface where a little vegetation is perched on a little earth, by dint of the man's labor. It is a matter of transforming into a broken line, into horizontal steps, however tenuous they may be, the straight inclination /27/ that constitutes the slope. Through that, simultaneously control of the soil and the

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538 /29 cont./ A legend from Tinmel illustrates the antiquity of such a style. An escaped ram could, it is said, jump there a whole day from terrace to terrace (2).

> 2. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 119.

Hyperbole undoubtedly, but instructive.

342 Consequently the incertitude is great as to the limits of the /30/ "house." There are, among others, necessities of defense that have inspired this architecture of masses and blocks. But let us take note that the word tigemmi, if it does designate the material aggregate of walled-up cubes, courtyards, horizontal bays, terraces pierced with a square hole, also means, in narrower fashion, the "dwelling," which is only a fraction of it and which itself is sometimes split up further into "apartments," lbyut. This dwelling is one. It is the "opening," tiflut, or even imi, "clearance, outlet," which defines it and gives it autonomy from those with which it is agglomerated. 342 592 613 Properly speaking, therefore, in Seksawa there are no ikhs /agnatic subgroup/ houses, although one can have there, as, for example, in the a. Mh'nd, more or less compact blocks squeezing in the dwellings of one and the same ikhs. But that is a special and nearly unique case. Generally only one part of the ikhs is agglomerated. And the contrast between an architecture that in certain respects remains agnatic and the habitat divided at the echelon of the conjugal family is striking.

341
184 Not only do the Seksawa build houses, but these houses are of stones and with stories: fine cause for astonishment for the first observers coming from this "practical Morocco" which the hut afflicts. A more attentive examination will permit shading this evaluation. Up to mid-valley the pisé architecture (1)

> 1. E. Laoust, in the work cited above, examines, pp. 295 and 296, the problem posed by this pisé

/30 cont./

341
184 /footnote 1 continued/ technique, familiar to the Maghreb and to Spain. H. Terrasse, *Kasbahs berbères de l'Atlas et des oasis* /Berber casbahs of the Atlas and of the oases/, 1938, pp. 48 sq., sees in the pisé, "the precursor of another civilization," in the nature of urban influences (p. 79).

of the South is observed. This is the *lõh'h'*, made by framing and "damage" /ramming/. The village of Bul^cwãn, for example, (634) proudly dominated by the house of an *amghar* /chief/, will not be moved lower in the plain. A plastering exterior to the limestone has even been practiced here. An exceptional act, because lordly. But the pisé architecture becomes rarer as one goes back up the river. Still in a. Musa, it greatly predominates: about two-thirds of the houses. But it becomes extremely rare (about one-tenth) at Z'init' and in Imt'ddan. Nonexistent in Idma and higher. It is not that earth is lacking: it still serves here for an interior, and sometimes exterior, plastering, but the stone architecture prevails more and more absolutely as one ascends.

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184 It is not only the materials that change. But naturally also the form of the house. It is now a raised house: with two or three stories. The first that strikes the eye is, within the limits, one would say, of the techniques peculiarly montagnard, /31/ but with a completely classical perfection, the agglomeration of Tigemmi y-Iggiz: a beehive assemblage of cells, which are individual dwellings: 7 households live there. Little by little, a (634) monumental type becomes clear, which already includes beautiful examples, of almost urban appearance at Z'init', and culminates in a. H'adduyws with the five stories of the palace of the former *amghar* Umulid. Normally, the ground floor, *agrur*, serves as stable and for central heating. Above, the apartments *lbyut*, *tinwalin*; above, facultatively, the *tameçrit*, reception room or for masculine life; finally, the *asqqif*, the loft-veranda, picturesquely open on one of its faces, with wooden pillars sometimes being adjusted to the edge of the terrace by a sort of Doric. The

/31 cont./
342 house with asqqif appears in a. Musa, where it constitutes about
● 184 a third of the types. In the high valley it is general. The open-
ing of all the verandas gives the same orientation. There is
nothing more strking than these storied and architectured vil-
lages, with long parallel bays piercing the façade: Fensu appears
so to one who descends from Uzaga.

All that is black and sad. It is built in schistose stone, with
longitudinal fractures, with glossy planes, and joined with slimy
mud. The roof, whose flaky composition has been described by
R. Montagne for the Aghbar, J. Dresch for the Tubkal, is basical-
621 ly only soil. It makes a causeway. The houses, accumulating in
a joined system where each new autonomous participant lives in
its own stock of rooms, willingly arrange themselves in quarters,
separated by lanes or tunnels. A good example of the genre at
Igerssaffen, where the mule track following the valley has to
borrow a covered passage.

355 These dwellings are locked well. The doors, conforming to
414 the Homeric type, do not turn on hinges fitted into a firm up-
right: but their axis, itself mobile, turns in sockets. It is from
within that the lock functions. System with a complicated fing-
ering, consisting of wooden or iron pins. A hole for the hand per-
[171] mits opening from the outside. Without wishing to make a com-
parison, one might recall this anecdote of the Apulian African on
the misadventure of a thief: he stuck in his hand, but an old
woman, lying in wait behind the door, shoved an awl in his wrist
in such a way that, in order not to be caught, he was obliged to
cut off his arm.

The Bourgs

361 The form of the habitat is that of the "hamlet," lmud'a, with
the houses joined together, opposing to the external menace a
perimeter without a break. The agglomeration is sometimes im-
portant: thus, the /32/ a. Mh'nd (600 inhabitants). It may also
consist of only an "écart" /separate part/ of two or three houses.
Thus at Ighilan, facing Buteghradin: a large portion of slope is
occupied by a series of small quarters, each gathered together

/33 cont./
342 There is nothing of that here. All the stone circumvallations
333 that defend the tiers of cultivation are subject to incessant re-
vision. In the house, on the other hand, there was nothing about
[184] the schistose slabs arranged in straight lines that looked like a
[554] lord. The latter, farther to the S., inhabited his qaçba /casbah/
[712] of pisé. In this part of Morocco, the palace is of mud, and the
shanty of stone. There is nothing more disconcerting for us than
166 the facility with which the montagnard abandons the hovel,
342 taking away only the woodwork, and sets about building else-
where. Hence so many scattered ruins: such old villages, with
their banquettes and their walls, are abandoned. For which there
are several reasons, one of which doubtlessly is moral: horror of
the ruins, to which avenging forces are attached, and the other
economic: this immense debauch of man power, which by its
realizations, sometimes masterly, but irregular, dispenses the
human action of perseverance.

621 Another idea to revise, the one that we often have of a habitat so fragmented. For the European geographer, this would be the /34/ sign of an anarchial particularism, of a failure of social structures. Now here it is just the opposite. Nothing is more closely united than these ensembles of écarts /separate parts/ or hamlets, lmud'a, flung into the valley as if by chance, and obeying only the exigencies of a capricious strategy or of mood. The Chleuh /Shluh/ city is broken up into small bits, but it is a city. It is crumbled throughout the canton. The fact is that, through the combined effect of an inhospitable milieu and the energy of the men, immense stretches of savage nature, of parks and gardens are maintained between the blocks of houses.

The Family, Viewed from the Outside

592 "What one finds, in these mountains is the family stock in
184 accordance with The Play. The individual person is absorbed
616 into it, under the patriarchal authority of the senior one. From
village to village, these little social and political foyers confront
one another in two leagues, to the measure of the whole extent of
the provinces."

595 /35 cont./ But a contrast vigorous in other ways sets
184 Seksawa as a bloc, as well as in addition all their neighbors of
171 the Dir of Imintanout, against the Arab tribes of the plain, such
as the Ud Bessebâ^{c}, essentially polygamous. A recent study has
589 even revealed an incontestable fact in these mountains: the
frequency of celibacy. In relation to married people, and including nubile adolescents, widows, and divorced persons, there would be a third of the men single, half of the women. Nothing can be established from such figures, lacking a specialized investigation. But they should at least be noted here for the lie that they directly give to certain preconceived ideas.

562 All the Seksawa women have the storeroom keys. They de-
[343] mand them. Whoever refuses them to them sees them abandon
[712] the conjugal life, which is ridiculous and costly for the frustrated
[593] husband. Public opinion attributes this trait to a character prone
to domestic disputes, but which they know how to make up for by other talents: that of sorceress, for example, or of clever champion at trials, or again, as the adage says, of nocturnal beauty capable of furnishing during the day the work of a beast of burden! Finally, she is a Tasseksiwit: and that suffices. The tribe com-
184 ments, with an amused and secretly admiring indulgence, on
343 these traits, which, it thinks, differentiate it from all its neighbors:
712 the Gedmiwa or those beyond the Tichka. For example, the Idaw
[829] Kais or the a. Tkssit, among whom, it is said, ten to fifteen
foyers can live together without quarreling, or these Idaw Mh'mud where the masculine institution of the agadir /collective storehouse/ flourishes (1).

1. There is only one agadir operating among the Seksawa, that of Ikis. Remains of a ruined agadir at Iguntar. Cf. Lieut. P. Dupas, "Note sur les magasins collectifs du Haut Atlas occidental /Note on the collective storehouses of the western High Atlas/," Hesp., 1929, pp. 303 sq. A The wealth of the I. Mh'mûd in agadir-s contrasts with the quasi-absence of them among the Seksawa, where there were some perhaps, if one

A, [See 3: Dupas, this file--Analyst]

/35 cont./

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712
/footnote 1 continued/ believes the toponymy, but in an extremely old epoch. What is therefore characteristic of the Seksawa is not the existence, but the nonexistence of the agadir, at least for the modern epoch.

[562] In the agadir, in fact, it is the man exclusively who holds the key to the accommodations for grain; and again his managership is exercised in a communal harmony, which accentuates its extra-domestic character. [171] Elsewhere, in Nfifa, in Mez'ud'a, a fortiori among the Ud Bessebāᶜ Arabs, it is "the family head" who administers the reserves. The latter, moreover, are often ensilaged outside of the dwelling. This family head is generally the elder of the house. Periodically he distributes to the couples living together in the tigemmi provisions that are individually prepared in most cases.

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In Mtugga it is estimated that half of the families practiced, before the Protectorate, a simultaneous community /36/ of habitat and of cuisine. But an evolution has forced its way through. If the elder still holds the key to the reserves, only a tenth of the families remain faithful to the single table. On the other hand, the large house has fallen into disfavor. The foyers swarm all around and build for their benefit a lodging that will be their own. [593] [591] Finally, in the neighboring tribes, such as the I. Buzia, the father abandons the communal house to the sons, builds apart, and then often takes a young wife. This division of regime and of habitat therefore sets in motion some complex phenomena: relations of good form between the old man and his adult sons, the intervention of the "démon de midi" /demon of the prime of life/, which here breaks up the common table and moreover orients the aging man toward secret affiliations.

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There is not necessarily, as one sees, coincidence between the administration of the reserves and the distribution of food. In the plains tribes, in fact, if the former duty falls most often to a single male, the latter is done foyer by foyer, that is to say, by conjugal families in the narrow sense. There still exist some

The woman

593 /37 cont./ naturally enters among those having
[586] rights. Her part is absorbed with that of the spouse in a community which is dissolved only in case of divorce. But, as one sees, the scope of this community is reduced to the conjugal couple. And then it is amenable to precise calculations in case of dissolution.

592 Thus, even when the traditionalism of the ensemble or the
178 prestige of one of the members establishes, at the echelon of the whole *tigemmi*, the unity of the mode of existence, manifested by the common allowance, the economic personality of the couple exists. It has not been one of the least surprises of the investigators for the census of 1952 in this region to verify that the word "foyer," /38/ *takat*, ar /Arabic/: *kânûn*, used in the formulary, was understood only as corresponding to the conjugal family in the strict sense: which means that its average number was generally only three, sometimes four, but very rarely five persons, as had been believed up to then. This economic character has evidently been reinforced by recent evolutions: that of the alimentary regime, for example, or that of the possibilities for workers' emigration.

Thus accordingly, and although it fails to note that the montagnards do not attribute the present cutting up of the foyers to any decline, to any change of the mores, this observation
● [184] calls for some correctives. The domain of the a. H'adduyws,
[586] even though it is characterized by a rarer practice of divorce -- half less than among the Idma, for example -- seems to have remained more faithful to an old tradition of familial aggregates.

425 There is another point at which a recent evolution has in-
178 fluenced behavior. We shall have to speak in detail of an important patrimonial practice, which the new notarial regime
593 seems to have made rarer. It is a matter of the disposition by the father of all or part of his immovables for the benefit of such and such of his heirs, in general males. The institution, somewhat imprecise today, is called, according to the case, *waçiyya*, *ççadaqa*, or even *lh'obus*. It would be a very interesting study to determine what might be the frequency of these anticipated successoral distributions, if I may venture to say it, by which the

/44 cont./
173 archeological tenor. The families issued from the great ances-
634 tor, the a. D'alh'a, occupy several villages and, in the native
619 view, contribute no little in adorning the country with a discreet,
secret, but real touch of authenticity. Vestiges of the past, they
remain the support of a legitimacy depending on the Seksawa,
[613] from which the other founders benefit little or much. A lineage
authentic and allogeneous, today all are sons of H'addô. Im-
material factors, whose action on these montagnards should not
be minimized, have imposed their truce here: perhaps the force
attached to this saint, yet left out of the rites, almost forgotten,
but who is nonetheless "the great ancestor."

133 It is a completely different impression that is made on the
487 traveler who, leaving the valley, climbs the Tizi n-Tbgurt
(2,650 meters). To his right the Tizi n-Trga opens a difficult
175 but indispensable passage toward the Sous. It is this route that
166 was taken in the course of the last centuries by the invaders
167 coming from the Anti-Atlas to take the place of the old dying
populations. And it is from there that they spread toward the N.
From the flanks of the Tabgurt, several avenues in fact radiate
toward the plain; they have remained the habitat of the new men:
a. M'hnd, a. Lh'sen, Idma. Toward the N. and the N.-W. arch
133 the highlands separating the constitutive valleys of the asif n.-a.
101 Lh'sen. The eye follows their outlines up to the bar of the Bwi-
634 baun; in the axis, at a distance, appears, by means of an open-
ing, the tabular relief of the Dwiran. To the N.-E. descend the
terraces of Agersili. From there, the landscape bifurcates, one
might say, into crossroads. /45/ It is in these divergent direc-
tions that the history of the peoples coming from the Sous is spread
out. Thus one might wonder if the political axis which now coin-
cides with the valley has not changed through the ages.

"Cantons" Par Excellence

101 Here we are in the immured confines of the Seksawa world.
• 184 And even these people here are no longer Seksawa. They are
634 vassalized Demsira. Last remains of the encroachments made by
619 their people at an unknown time on all the lower Seksawa, up to

[Iguntar]

619
101 /45 cont./
184 the moment when new and brave men from the far Sous liberated
634 the old ground with the help of the saints.

133 A dizzy descent, from the wooded heights of the Wagrarat,
leads to a bed of wells. The torrent of the Iguntar passes here.
101 They have their two villages: Tagenza and Tannammert, "the
634 fronton and the adret," planted at mid-cliff. At Tagenza, ruins
361 of an agadir, "granary-citadel," the only one of the country with
619 that of Ikis. The Atlasic arête is welded to the last counterfort
of the Bwibaun, this long Hercynian wall which closes the Seksawa world to the W. The Arjbib, the Zkkat' have from 2,400 to 2,890 meters. This is the impasse. The Idaw Meh'mud indeed live on the other side of the peak, but it is the other side of the world. Even if the ridge pastures are common, a radical opposition governs the life on the two sides. People turn their backs on each side of the wall.

173 The true relatives of the Iguntar are elsewhere, among the
101 remains of the Demsira. The old records of this tribe show them
regulating by their deliberations interests more or less mingled
634 with those of the Irohalen, thus largely running over toward the
619 Tizi Umachchô. Their legend mentions a founder hero and great
[538] ancestors who built the countries *bnan timizar*, an expression of
[613] substantial exactitude. Their nine séguias and their five *ikhs*-s
interlace rights and facilities in a system of distribution of water
[312] and land. There remain to us reports of proceedings concerning
an allotment which was formerly carried out and followed by collective feasting.

634 The same archaic and secret life, the same Arcadian life,
184 with the ancestral wisdom, the same energetic submission to the
laws of the country and of the economy also strike you in another
619 *taqbilt* of the high mountains: the a. Mh'nd. Between Iguntar
[181] and a. Mh'nd, similarly with their backs to the high axial ridge,
are crouched other cantons, formerly conquered or reconquered by the Seksawa over the Demsira: Wanz'id and Iwulla. But these are drawn downstream by their solidarity with their brothers of the branch conquering the a. Lh'sen.

[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /49 cont./
634 open land of the Ibuban. The former, political subjects of the
101 a. Lh'sen, have kept their agricultural originality: that of being
133 exclusively cultivators in the dry. A curious thing, dry cultivations
[241] and livestock breeding rank some of these dispersed and
[233] these conquered peoples, remnants of heteroclite populations,
[184] among the richest of the Seksawa. That is a kind of contradiction
to the perspective of irrigators, which is, of course, that of
conquerors. The economic center and the chefferie /military
district/ of the latter have been fixed in the middle valley of the
torrent, a junction once formed out of the various ravines descending
from Iguntar via Sekrat, from Wanz'id' and from Iwulla.

[184] The valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen crosses some frightful
steep cliffs of basalt before entering the canton of the Sekrat, a
heterogeneous population linked together by the conquest. Whether
it be at the base of the eagle's nest of Amsgerdat or in the vast
thicket that the other Sekrat villages punctuate on both sides of
the torrent, same impression: the bed is wide enough for cultivations
133 to take hold on its pebbly sloping banks. The blocks carried
241 along by the current or falling from the left bank, which is
101 abrupt, have been used in embankments for the protection of
634 olive trees, almond trees, plum trees, and peach trees. In this
variety of orchards, one recognizes a lively peasantry. At the
foot of the trees, tomatoes, sweet peppers, eggplants, and lately
potatoes alternate with the mowed prairies, az'mu, and the
classic lands sown with barley and maize. The torrent roars in a
deep groove, capriciously cut by itself in its large bed. A level
of permanent submersion, according to a technique known as
tanuri, and which is especially that of fodder, of edible flax, and
more rarely of barley, is dominated by the level of the cereal
platbands and of the orchard. An enormous mass of arable land
exhibits its block on the right bank, at /50/ Tigumma n-Skrat,
133 for example. By raising one's eyes, very high because all of this
137 world is formidably encased, one finds that the highest slopes
101 themselves, thanks to their bushes, such as the urzigh, the aloggo,
634 and their greater forest density, have saved their land from sliding
down. Lower, a profusion of blackberry brambles covers the low

[Ait Musa]

/53 cont./

619 The Parvis of the Temple: the Plain of Tabratjut

184 A clear geographical and social demarcation sets the a. Musa
101 Ufella, that is to say, "Those from above," over against "Those
634 from below," the occupants of the section of the valley immediately
lower, starting from the former market "of Thursday,"
361 Lkhmis. They live in a small flat-bottomed basin of four or five
101 square kilometers, full of ruins, fields, and cemeteries. Four
634 agglomerations follow one another from downstream upstream:
the village, in ruins, of a residual fraction of a. Ish'aq; then the
619 knoll of Tabratjut, overhung by the new château of the Chtittihi
family; then Tagadirt, in ruins, a reminder of the struggles between
a. Musa and a. Lh'sen at the time of the past generation.
Higher, but in a different landscape, where the Seksawa are encased
anew in the schistose cliffs, the hamlet of Tigemmi
y-iggiz, marvel of cohesion in the habitat. A whole squad of
[776] saints, as one will see, the most important of whom is Sidi
[778] Mh'and Ah'ormi, marks in a way on the side of the plain, that is
to say, on the side of the profane, of the officials, and of the
troublesome, the approach to the sanctuary and to the place of
asylum of Z'init'.

133 The basin is closed on all sides by heights of different geological
nature: yellowish marls and red rocks from the Imlilen
101 toward the N. on the right bank of the river; following them
634 toward the E. on the Dwiran side, the gloomy hill with two tops
called Awrir Wuzal, "of iron," where in fact a well attributed to
old and legendary Portuguese miners is to be seen. On all the
other sides, this is the black country. Toward the S. it points to
the Tamejlocht, bombe with bulky brows toward the W. and the
N.-W., with the Mzawt, wooded with holm oaks, and the
Illikkri. By the latter the circle is closed. Not without some
openings that allow passage to the Seksawa, to the torrent of the
a. Mh'nd, and, symmetrically to the latter, on the other side of
Tabratjut, to the Talat n-Tddert, which climbs in the direction
of the Haut Dwiran and whose role of hydraulic balance is important.

[Ait Abdella]

/57 cont./

103 A harsh history survives in the toponyms. A squad of saints: [776] Sidi Rah'h'âl n-a. Ikherrachen at Imi n-ghli, higher the Regraga of Talâint and Tiburiin, higher still the marabouts /58/ of [792] Igerwal -- come between a. Âbdella and a. Musa. The characteristics of the toponymy, clinging to a landscape itself very expressive, accentuate this impression of a passage from one world to another: here a ruiniform rock, the "rock of the Fort, Tansmert wugadir, there a wall of stone seeming to close the valley, Lluh'n-Khaddo, which is perhaps "the Table of H'addô," just as higher there will be an Âmlal Yah'ya: and all of these names have a possibly historic sonority. Finally, and even more characteristic, the majestic site of the zaouia of Talâint is dominated by a hill called Awrir n-sidi Limam, at the foot of which there is a "hollow" of the Mahdi Tamd'a n-Lmehdi. One knows who this Imam Lmehdi is in the language of the mountains: this is actually Ibn Toumert. This reminder here, at the very spot where another domain is going to begin, which an accessory hagiology, besides the relief and a violent combativity, defended for 184 a long time, is to be contemplated. The bond of this country of transition with the people of Tuz'z'umt and Bul^{c}wân can only be [167] artificial. Visibly this world is without unity. Its ikhs-s, one will see, are heteroclites. They call themselves recent occupants; and by title of immigrants and buyers rather than conquerors.

133 To the E. of this section of valley, confused marly hills ex- 131 tend their yellowish glaciated rock to the base of the calcareous entablatures, russet and graven at the summit, where the Dwiran 634 domain begins. Again, a former no man's land /in English in the original source/, where, still in the memory of man, hordes of brigands, some of whom came from the Sous, ransomed at will or even assassinated shepherd or traveler. Today, a zone of pastureland between tribes, where significantly the Idma have acquired, 133 or recovered, the right of usage. This mass of alfa steppe, which 634 toward the S., at the approaches to Z'init', is famous for a huge ring of polished stone, with tumulus in the center, the tarrut' n-Lala Aziza, has been mentioned above. The saint,

[Ibubanen]

619 /67 cont./
634 pink tint, the plotters' expression of the a. Lh'sen, as well as with
[142] the cunning vitality of the Idma. Dirty because of the lack of
[181] water, unsightly and feeble, they are decadents. Among their
heteroclite elements, a synthesis nevertheless seems to have
[173] played a role. The legend exhibits all the details of a history
indefinitely suppressed.

634 1) Some blacks, grouped at the foot of a hill with the sig-
184 nificant name Awrir i-ysemgan, had their village destroyed by
101 the immigrant Dukkâla (1).

619
> 1. At this moment the Bani Mâger, who are
> Maçmûda, are being driven away from the
> North bank of the Tensift, Sour. in Port., t.
> I, pp. 136, No. 2 and 193, n. 1. The present
> [648] group of the Al Chichâwa, grouping Berbéro-
> phones separated by the Ud Bessebâ from the
> Chleuh /Shluh/ mass of the Atlas, presents
> some embarrassing questions, but its existence
> doubtlessly forms "a bridge" between the Atlas
> and the more northerly Maçmûda populations,
> who have now disappeared through migration
> or Arabization.

Some of them took refuge in a. Âbdella, at Talat u Qyar. The rest remained at Tugg Lkheyr; they are the present ait Bumellut', miserable remains, excluded from the distribution of the ground. They live mixed with two a. Lh'sen ikhs-s: remnant of former occupants, forced guests; they are in fact in a state of submission to the a. Lh'sen.

[628] People of aberrant origin, like the ait Abbo of Γimskert, living without communication with the others, or like the Inaghayn of Talburt, related to the a. Msseddat of the Tabgurt and struck by a saint's curse, vegetate, without ever exceeding three or four foyers.

[Ibubanen]
[Ait D'alh'a]

/67 cont./

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2) The immigrant Dukkâla -- quite a rare case of movement from the N., though this North was the Haouz, where the habitat of the Dukkâla extended up until a recent epoch -- are settled in a solid group at Amassin. From there, they thrust themselves into each of the other villages, on the ground which they henceforth share.

3) The ait Irz'z'i, chased by the Idma from their village situated on the asif n-a. Mh'nd, are in turn settled as offensive vanquished and appropriate everywhere, except at Amassin, their part of the lands. They are also found, under the name of a. [778] Mulid, in the villages of Timskert and especially of Iggayzen, where they have established a *maqâm* of their saint, this Baba Lh'âjj, with a personal, but still anonymous face, and localized in an old past, it is said, of 40 generations. A "mansion" of Sidi Ah'med u Âli, in this same village, is a place of "magic injunction," *lʿâr*, for the totality of the Ibubanen: composite rabble, but whose ritual, economy, and a community of misfortune made a *taqbilt*.

Beyond the a. H'adduyws, the a. Âbdella, and the Ibubanen, one could multiply the examples. These three have been chosen as quite /68/ different ones in order to have stand out a common characteristic which does not owe anything to the unity of conditions: high-mountain conquerors for some, friable villagers of the piedmont, or disinherited vanquished -- these are indeed three different adventures. Whence the force of the impression that disentangles itself from them, and which one could formulate in the interrogative form: in this Seksawa ensemble, with such a characteristic personality, is there then nothing that might be truly Seksawa, I do not say in the historical objectivity, but in the consciousness, even the pretension of the inhabitants?

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[173]

A Vestige of the Ancient Seksawa: the Ait D'alh'a (1)

> 1. Let us recall that we again found the name of T'alh'a in the oldest legendary genealogies of the Seksawa *agellid*-s. In this society, nothing is lost!

[Ait D'alh'a]

/68 cont./

634 Only a tiny handful of families are Seksawa in origin: a
619 high-mountain group, the a. D'alh'a, and in the middle valley
a branch of the a. Musa. Here is how this latter taqbilt is com-
posed, the habitat of which is situated immediately downstream
from the sacred place of Z'init', and which from this fact pre-
sents a certain importance. Its name, like that of the a. Abdella,
634 is connected with the royal dynasty. In detail, it is split up as
632 follows:

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Subdivision	Ikhs	Habitat	Origin invoked
Half from above	a. H'aqqi.	Tabradjut-Agadir.	Sidi Âmer u H'addo.
	a. H'amed.	--	Came from the Sous, with the Idma.
	a. Mzird'ad'.	--	They are from the residual a. Gasa.
	a. Jjaw.	--	Came from the a. Zemlal (a. H'adduyws).
Half from below	a. H'sayn.	T'abya.	They are from the residual a. Ish'âq.
	a. Khaled.	--	Sidi Âmer u'Haddo.
	a. Ichchiyaân.	--	Demsira, "clients" of Sidi Mh'and.
	a. u Gella.	Iger n-ssuq.	Dwiran in origin.
	a. Lâsri.	--	Ad^{e}erd'ur (Idma).
	a. H'fid.	--	a. ba H'ammo (a. H'adduyws).
	a. Wammern.	--	Descendants of the marabout sidi Mh'and.

634 Thus the aggregate here is again composite. And neverthe-
184 less in this section of valley immediately below Z'init' there has
101 maintained itself /69/ a branch of true Seksawa, a branch of the
619 "King's sons." They share this privilege of authenticity only with

[Ait D'alh'a]

They share this
619 /69 cont./ privilege of authenticity only with
634 the a. D'alh'a of the high valley, whose habitat is arranged, in
● 184 relation to the mausoleum of Sidi Âmer u H'addo, just as theirs
101 is in relation to the sanctuary of Lala Aziza. Perhaps these are
[778] two symmetrical witnesses treated kindly by the invasions. Between them, no continuity: the whole middle valley of the river has been dominated by the intruders or the excluded, the a. Gasa. This rupture marked the collapse of the national history. But two islets have remained, and perhaps their safety was not a matter of chance or of a particularly efficacious resistance. They have, in a way, existed as witnesses, and perhaps as "guarantors." Between them are arranged the new arrivals, between them are sheltered their conquerors. Because the conquest of the country altered neither its substance nor its name. The arrivals also call themselves Seksawa. Some of them even claim origin from
[778] H'addô. The cult of the saints is thus continued. Z'init' remains up to a late epoch the foyer of asylum. The *taqbilt*-s still claim the old princely names of Musa and of Âbdallah. The mystic patronages of the soil remain intact.

423 Finally, and more precisely, the immigrant considers his oc-
166 cupation valid only when he has duly bought the land from the
619 former owners: Demsira in the lower valleys, a. Gasa in the middle. Whence processes extremely nuanced and complicated, which have left their written traces. We shall see that in detail concerning the a. Gasa. But let us note from now on that the relationship of the a. Musa and of the a. H'adduyws, on both sides of the Idma, arises from certain features of the landed-property structure. The analysis of ownership brings a striking confirmation to the story here.

/In the original source the following paragraph is printed in small type./ A family of Iger n-ssuq, the a. Ibizzi, has estates in a. Bah'ammo in the high valley. Reciprocally, some a. H'adduyws of a. Zemlal possess some on the side of T'abya. Well downstream, in a. Âbdella at Imi-n-tghli, the a. Ânono (Idma) keep, with titles of origin, *açl*, an important joint property. In olden times, and still in the time of Lh'âjj H'fid', a famous

/93 cont./

616 [121] [113] /footnote 1 continued/ furnish in "Vérité et Poésie sur les Seksawa /Truth and Poetry from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, pp. 131 sq.

move on the bicolor background of the leff-s. That is doubtlessly [184] true then on the scale of the Atlas. Less true on that of the Seksawa, where precisely this bipartism does not stand out with the same regularity as in Gedmiwa, in the Nffis, or even among the neighboring Mez'ud'a. We shall seek the reasons for such an anomaly. 121 [114] However that may be, R. Montagne has described the way in which the force of groups, the rise of individuals, and these great balanced symmetries interfere in this game too well /94/ for us to enter into contemporary history following him. In sum, we shall only ask, especially this first and so precious an ensemble of information, to act as buffer to our own proceedings (1).

1. And, let us emphasize it once again, to exempt this work, which does not wish by any title to be a political essay or even a study of political sociology, from developments on the present stage.

Inductions from the Present?

174 121 But is that indeed all that historical research can draw from this?

This sinusoid of power, clearly registrable for over two centuries, up to where does one follow its prolongation into the past? And this social dualism, so appropriate for accounting for the present political configurations, does it not offer an elegant explication of older facts and, by degrees, the basic structures [114] of the Maghreb? Some, and not the least important ones,

/95 cont./

174 the ones going off toward the Atlas were not partisans, but refractory ones (1).

[171] 1. Let us recall that this was often the case for montagnard societies likewise archaic. For example, in Spain, M. Legendre, Las Jurdes /Las Hurdes/, 1927, pp. 86 sq.

[184] In the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, our Seksawa would thus answer for the Idaw Semlal (2).

2. The Seksawa are, if I may venture to say so, I. Semlal turned about. What would we not give if this group, brought to our attention by so many indications by Justinard and R. Montagne, were to become the subject of a historical and sociological study!

[538] Here, the cultural profusion, the richness in heroes of this /96/ world and of the other: minstrels, merchants, jurists, saints, dancers; a fecundity so conscious of itself that it leads to academism (1).

1. Cf. for example the veritable literary "séances" described by Justinard, "Notes d'histoire et de littérature berbères /Notes on Berber history and literature/," Hesp., 1949, pp. 291-326. The ethnic Samlâlî is extraordinarily frequent in the biographical collections concerning the doctors or saints of the Moroccan South, the Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, for example.

There, on the contrary, a sullen reserve, an obstinate silence. From the end of the fifteenth century, the cadre of the Seksawa, becoming archaic, takes in the waste products and the

/119 cont./

133 634 fluvial basin into secondary units, the cantons, thus corresponds to both a logical classification and to a physical division of landscape (1).

[171] 1. Similarly, in the Pyrenees, the political state is formed, down to its subdivisions, "vicq," "locq," "cuart," "voisinages," by the relation between plain and mountain and the articulations of the relief (M. Sorre, Les Pyrénées, 1922, p. 73 sq., and, for Andorra, J.-A. Brutails, Études sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au Moyen Age /Studies on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon in the Middle Ages/, 1891, pp. 263 sq.).

Whence the profound insularity of the taqbilt, sunk into its hollow in the rocks and having only its torrent as vivifying artery to link it to the main valley and, from there, to the outside world.

• 184 But is this isolation a basic given, or a result? Does its picturesque reality not hide the fundamental relations that unite it with other parts of the system? The history of the Seksawa went toward a reply on that, which the present facts confirm. What is essential in this life is precisely that it surpasses any cantonal fragmentation. The attraction of the plain, the circulation of the channelized water, the movement of the flocks are only three signs, images of exchanges that link men and places beyond the narrow barriers.

121 619 634 One is thus led anew to the hypothesis according to which the Seksawa would today be only a mutilated system. Their present division into valley sections would only correspond to secondary necessities. The correspondences between high and low country that their Mez'ud'a and Dwiran neighbors have been able to maintain in their political and landed-property structure result doubtlessly from better preservation. Or rather, the present cutting-up of the Seksawa and their elimination from the plain

/128 cont./

241 In such a system, the privative appropriation comes down,
423 according to the modes peculiar to the irrigation, to the most
passionate individuation of the work and of the feeling, of the
trouble and of the persistence of the man, therefore, of his
[184] rights. Completely to the contrary, the dry cultivations, extensive
and intermittent, are done in the *muchâ*^{c} or *muchû*^{c}, a
type of collective. But these two types together contrast with
the disposal of the forest or pasture, regulated only by political
rights and the international balance. Nevertheless, within the irrigated
ground itself, an order regulates the parcellary distribution.
Qualifications of birth and of kinship are more essential
here than boundaries and, one might say, than the compost itself.
This plot, almost bare of matter, acts as and above all counts as
the illustration of civil status:

178 This perhaps explains the tenacity of this man with his complications, with his deficient methods. Everything takes place, on this historical mole of the old, sedentary civilizations of the Maghreb, as if a peasant society were seeking, in the economic paradox, the exercise of itself.

Magic or Technique?

241 Human work does not only have to reckon with the resources
789 or the resistance of the milieu. Beyond the waters, the soils, the
plants, it must reckon with a benevolent or malevolent power,
diffused in things or being specified in figures. And the appreciation
entertained for the activity of the peasant group will be very
different according to the scope of spontaneity, of conscious
bearing, and of efficacy that it arrogates to itself in relation to
the invisible friends or adversaries, and according to the degree
of existence that it recognizes for them. There has been a great
114 deal of insistence in Moroccan ethnology on the "magic" char-
241 acter of /129/ the agriculture. In this regard the work of E.
789 Laoust offers a store of information. The "mort du champ"
/death of the field/ and many other ritual deeds are described
there, with reference, if not to the Seksawa, at least to the
nearby Mtugga, among whom characteristic harvest-customs have

/*135 cont.*/
241 let us note, any special denomination. The term *anflus* has
796 fallen into disuse. One is called only *bab llkhir*, that is to say,
gifted with a "good hand"; and, further, this power is expressed
by paraphrases: *ifulki kh-tyuga*, "he is good at cultivation,"
241 etc. This verbal haziness is perhaps, but not certainly, a trait
796 of decadence. However that may be, here are the results of an
619 enumeration that was meant to be exhaustive. /The following
634 enumeration, through 12, appears in small type in the original
184 source./

1. Idaw Geryun:

Village of Targa Ufella (the last before the ascent of the Tichka): all the inhabitants are descended from a single origin, the old a. Châib. It is perhaps for that reason that there is no
[525] discrimination among them. Drawing lots to inaugurate the irrigations. On the first Saturday in May, a black goat is carried
[782] to a certain rock in the mountains and sacrificed. If the blood
[787] runs, the omen is good.

At Ighelmellen, the Ih'muchcha, surviving family of the Iqorran, first occupants, inaugurate the irrigation and the moun-
[782] tain pastures. Propitiatory libations, called *ifyed'*.

Rektu wasif: the a. Âbdelkrim have the *initium* for water.

Zaouia of Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi: these are the a. Umetjar.

Ikis: general *initium* (and not only for water) of the a. Uâziz.

2. Ait Wasif (a. H'adduyws):

Igersafen: a. Sâid.

a. Zemlal: a. Umetjar.

a. Bah'mmo and Uzaga: the a. Th'emjit enjoy a general
[784] *initium*, attributed to the ancestor Amer u H'addo. Period reputed to be unfavorable: *Lmunah'is* or *Ih'h'yalen*, and the *lqâleb:* one does not shave, one does not till, one is in mourning.

/*136*/ 2 /*sic*/. Tasa (ditto):

Villages of Fensu and Tasa: the a. Ggahi have the *initium* for water, are in charge of the *ifyed'*: same interdiction as
[784] above. In addition, during this period, one cannot wash the linen. The a. Umghar: *initium* for war.

/136 cont./

4. Idma:

241 The a. Ilarzg of Usikis have the *initium* for putting water in
796 the ditches. Tne Iseqqalen abstain from all enterprises on Mon-
619 day: one time when they intended to climb to Agersili on this
634 day some of their girls died. The a. Ikru of Ad'erd'ur and of
184 Wanchkrir open the tillage. Here is why. For six years the Idma
[613] had remained without rain; others say seven years. The *ikhs*-s
took turns watching for clouds on the horizon. When it was the
turn of the a. Ikru, rain fell, to the general delight. Whence the
present practice. The *ikhs*-s that open the tillage in the other
villages are: for Usikis, the a. Ilarzg; for Taselli, the a. Lh'sen.

5. In Imt'ddan, the a. Uchikar open the tillage and put water in the ditches. The ait Ubaqa slaughter the cow of Lalla Aziza.

6. In ait Mh'nd, the a. Bakhkha open the tillage.

7. In ait Musa, no qualification of this sort.

8. Ait Lh'sen:

[782] Wanz'id'. Tillage: a. H'sayn; irrigations: sacrifice to sidi Lwâli on the first Friday in March; harvest: a. Mulid; war: a. Berka.

Buteghradin. Tillage: 1. a. Messâud (Sunday); irrigations ditto; harvest: ditto.

[541] On the morning of the *yenneyr*, battle between *ikhs*-s by
[613] blows with clusters of nettles.

Agadir. Tillage: a. Naçr (Sunday); harvest (ditto); irriga-
tion: a. Hammo; jumps into the fire the night of *amâchur*.
[541] Battle by blows with clusters of nettles.

Awinas. Tillage: a. Amar; harvest ditto; irrigation, a.
[578] Umâli. Aspersions between *ikhs*-s on the morning of amâchur;
[262] dinner of porridge the night of the *innair*.
[613] Ighilen. Tillage: a. Messâud (Sunday); harvest: ditto; ir-
rigation: a. Lechger. Same custom as above.

Tabratjut. Tillage: a. Mençur (Sunday); harvest ditto; ir-
[578] rigation: a. Ufqir Lh'sen. Custom of aspersions on the morning
[262] of the *amâchur* and of the porridge the night of the *Yenneyr*;
[541] battle by blows with clumps of grass.

/136 cont./

241 9. Ibuban:

746 Amasin. Tillage: a. Addi u Lh'sen (Sunday); irrigation:
619 ditto; harvest: ditto; war: ditto.

Talburt i-yggayzen. Tillage: a. Wakrim Uâli; harvest
634 from the remise of the "Friday" for sidi Mh'and.

● 184 Tugg Lkhayr. Tillage: a. Bumellut (Sunday); irrigations: a. Bihi u Addi; harvest: a. Bihi u Addi.

Timskert. Tillage: a. Ali Wakrim; irrigation ditto; harvest: a. Lh'sen Wakrim and a. Âli Wakrim; war: ditto.

[782] 10. Iguntar. Tillage: a. Lâsri (Sunday); irrigation: sacrifice to sidi Mh'nd; harvest: a. Lâsri, war: Ineqqachen.

/137/ 11. Sekrat:

Amsgerdat. Tillage: a. Urjdal (Sunday); irrigation: a. Wârab. Custom of the porridge. Harvest: a. Wârab. Custom of the amâchur; no linen washed, penitence.

F-umazir. Tillage: a. H'emmo (Sunday); harvest: a. Çalh'; irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur as above, for the a. Çalh' only.

Tagddut. Tillage: a. Bihi (Sunday); harvest: a. u Lârj
[783] (Sunday); irrigations: a. Ukhezzaz; penitence: on the day of amâchur for the a. Bihi.

Tigumma n-Skrat. Tillage: a. Musa (Sunday); harvest:
[783] a. Warir (Sunday); irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur, penitence of the a. u Musa.

[613] 12. Ait Âbdella. This taqbilt, important in size, wealth, habitat, and numerous in its ikhs-s, does not acknowledge the initium in agricultural matters for any of the latter. Only the a. Wanz'id', descendants of sidi Musa, the saint of the high mountains, bestow good augury in the matter of military expeditions.

121 A question is posed first of all as to the generality of these
241 practices: a generality in which the nature of the account that
796 ethnographers give concerning them and maybe also the very
fashion in which the local informants describe them would lead one to believe. Secondly, what character should one ascribe to them: sacred or profane? A difficult distinction which only a

/137 cont./
121 veritable statistical and philological analysis could undoubtedly
241 illuminate. There is obviously no question of such a study here.
796 Only a few facts have been pinned down, by right of invitation,
in a way, for a specialized study.

241 The qualification of one ikhs to inaugurate certain group
796 activities, agricultural mainly, but also military, is established
in all the high cantons. On the other hand, it is wanting in a.
613 Abdella and a. Musa, which should not be surprising, in view of
634 the harsh history of these two groups, vulnerable to the foreigner.
● [184] The initium can thus be ranked, with all sorts of other material
or spiritual traits that have turned up in passing, among the components of the montagnard physiognomy. A differentiation appears between two or three ikhs-s, each having its particular vocation. The richest example is offered by the a. Mh'nd, but also by many a. Lh'sen villages. These divisions in fact happen as often at the echelon of the village as at that of the canton, but one cannot discern the reasons for these inequalities in dignity.
[184] To a certain extent then, the local factor, producing narrow particularizations, on the scale of the hamlet, for example, lmud'a, acts on the foundation constituted by a social and political life whose organ is the taqbilt. Ancient trait, or recent evolutions?

241 /138/ It is very difficult to discern the reasons for the choice
796 of such and such an ikhs for such and such competence. Naturally,
613 the role of the unexplained is great here, by definition. Never-
[954] theless the case of the Ih'muchcha in I. Geryun, of the a. Ikru in Idma, of the a. Bumellut' in Ibuban shows that this choice has nothing to do with political prestige.

In fact, that is a matter of descendants of conquered populations. It is rather the idea of powers attached to the antiquity in the country, the idea of legitimacy, that is evoked then. In other cases, however, nothing like that. What comes into play seems to be the vestige of former ritual personalities that have become inexplicable. Their etiology is sometimes sought and gives rise to legends. That is the case of the Idma: it remains

/138 cont./
171 the traditionalist have one, each in his fashion, and /139/ mani-
festly none of them feels bound by the group. An important
nuance. It happens that, defying the Berbère /Berber/ enthusi-
asms of our ethnology, the Arab populations display a wealth of
customs much more general in application and more ardent in
belief than our montagnards (1).

> 1. This is evidently an impression, which statistical analysis should cross-check.

Thus there are the games of the night of amâchur (ar. /Arabic/:
the ^{c}Achûrâ): the cho^{c}ala of the Ud Bessebâ^c redden the plain,
whereas the tijuffa of the Seksawa, and especially of the Dwiran,
are evidently rarer and less frequented. This celebration, that
of the prophetic Mûlâd and of the Aid Lkbir have moreover served
as connecting links between many native rites and the orthodoxy
796 that legitimates. Thus, the a. Âbdella make the fires of
241 amâchur a reminder of those that Abraham miraculously survived,
when he was thrown in by Nemrod. The distributions of dry fruits,
184 when the tillage is set in motion, are general in Seksawa, but
tinted with an avowed nuance of fancy and gratuitousness: they
"do good," nothing more. Of two neighboring cantons of the
Nfîfa, in the Dir, the one, the Amejnas, scarcely knows but a
tiny minority to practice this custom; and the latter, immediately next to it, in the Wâd l-lbûr, experiences, under the picturesque name of jawjaw, a universal and warm application.

Thus one finds, from taqbilt to taqbilt, from village to village, for these different orders of facts, the most diverse degrees of generality, of affective intensity, and of "sacred" coloration. But this degree is never completely that of the rite. Nor further is it ever only that of simple folkloric amusement, as still not long ago was the case among us for the fires of Saint John /Midsummer Day/.

What is striking in any case, or should have struck the observers where the practices of initium prevail, is precisely the antithesis between the incertitude of their content and the clear

/139 cont./

796 241 184 functional divisions that they evoke here and there. Today, in themselves, they are no more than a heteroclite mass of facts breaking out of context. What remains of them is precisely the unequal distribution that they express between groups, or, within the group, between ikhs-s. Their extreme erosion, often reaching -- but not always -- the stage of folklore, often also preserving some ritual emphasis, discourages a general interpretation. At the very least, these inequalities, in their constancy or effacement, their generality or rarity, let two things be glimpsed under them. First, a plurality of persons. And, on the other hand, among these persons, certain relations observed better and better /140/ as one penetrates into the montagnard privacy. These relations, finally, are perhaps the vestige of old links between the structure of the groups, the agrarian life, and a magico-religious division of labor between the collective subjects. But the vestige is being effaced under the reconstructions.

241 121 Here one arrives at a very important idea -- as will be seen -- for the rest of this study. A complete enumeration has been necessary to establish it. Will it be necessary to make the present chapter heavy by other monographs? Permit us to refer to the publications where we have treated the two subjects whose development should logically come at this place.

First we have shown (1) to what point the dry agriculture of the Seksawa contrasts with their irrigated horticulture, by the connections that it preserves with the spontaneous flora. Alimentation has not been completely separated from gathering. The profusion of edible plants, revealing man's efforts at appropriation in the natural milieu, contrasts with the monotony of the cultivated varieties. The latter have been subject to the influence of history. In particular, it is probable that maize, from the sixteenth century, has been substituted for millet as sole of spring; it has made this old African crop, bound up with the use of the hoe, retreat. On the

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1. "Un glossaire notarial...," R. afr., 1950.

/142 cont./

241 Although one cannot /143/ calculate it, beyond doubt an enormous increase of density characterizes, in relation to the plains economy, that of the mountains.

A concentration of work and of life, the will marking every-
thing, a deliberate agronomy, sharpening the ancestral practices
by a reasoning capable of evaluating the action of factors and
causes -- such aspects are frequent and decisive. But they are
● [184] not observed uniformly in all the cantons. If the hydraulics fur-
nishes a criterion convenient for classifying these small societies,
other factors compete there which are not found everywhere in
182 the same degree. Their ideal union would make this montagnard
an economic being perfectly adapted to his milieu, who would
241 squeeze from it, by livestock breeding and tillage, the tree and
the garden, every resource possible. But there is nothing of that.
Adaptation of the group to its natural milieu, realization of
equilibria, employing an economy propitious to a great history,
which other aptitudes of these societies would postulate: all that
has remained at a low, precarious level, or rather has consoli-
dated in the regression. Why?

Creation of Soils, Collection of Water

242 The basic work in the mountains is the preservation and even
312 the creation of soils. It is mixed with another essential task, that
of the regularization of the water. Let us therefore examine
128 simultaneously these two activities, which the native agronomy
does not distinguish.

171 In a completely different milieu, that of the pre-Saharan plateaus, a peristyle bordering on the S. this Mediterranean world that Romania energetically made advance into Africa, such techniques have been remarkably described (1).

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(1) J. Baradez, Fossatum Africae, 1949, pp. 174 sq.

/151 cont./

312 "the entire day" or "the half day," distributed in "parts," *tawala*,
804 plur. *tiwaliwin*. For each *tawala* there is a multitude of rightful claimants, each of whom only benefits from a fraction or subfraction. The estimation of it is done sometimes with the aid of instruments such as a kind of clepsydra, called *tat't'açt*, or further by gauging in the reservoir.

But how does this water, distributed in so sagacious a fashion, act once it has come to the echelon of utilization? There again, an abrupt lag in the technique. At the end one finds no more than the procedure of submersion. Its letters of African authen- [171] ticity are moreover immemorial, since it is the same method that the peasants of the Nile practiced until a recent epoch (1).

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1. J. Brunhes, *L'irrigation dans la péninsule ibérique et dans l'Afrique du Nord* /Irrigation in the Iberian Peninsula and in North Africa/, 1903, p. 210, citing various works. See especially *Descriptions de l'Egypte*, 1824, t. XVII, pp. 10 sq., and the recent book by Muh'ammad Fahîm, *Uçûl az-zirâ^{c}a*, al-Qâhira, 1952, pp. 37 sq. The manual of Rivière and Lecq, *Traité pratique d'agriculture pour le N. d'Afrique* /Practical treatise on agriculture for North Africa/, 1928, t. I, p. 185 sq., comments on the harmful effects of poorly managed irrigation, the exact modules needed by each crop (p. 193).

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312 The long saturation of the soil and of the plant by water is judged
241 here to be the only efficient method. Preliminary to the tillage one practices a first inundation: this is the *adunkal*. Then a second one, intended to "break up the clods": this is the *tirz'i wut't'ib*. Then others "for soaking," *isswi*. Near the plain, the
[184] a. Abdella practice three of them for barley, which conforms to
[243] the data of our experimental agronomy of the South. But higher, the a. Lh'sen and especially the Idma multiply them as often as possible: up to 10 or even 12 times. Perhaps because the

/150 cont./

121 /footnote 1 continued/ completely any refer-
182 ence to organization by ikhs. For the Algerian
114 S., I found valuable notes in D. Moulias,
[171] L'eau dans les oasis sahariennes (organisation
hydraulique, régime juridique) /Water in the Saharan oases (hydraulic organization, juridical regime)/, 1927, where one will note suggestive details on the unending conflicts -- conflicts of the blind and the deaf -- between a legalist regulation and the customary reality in the Algerian S. in the course of the nineteenth century.

121 and a total module which, for the Seksawa, does not appear to
182 exceed 250 ls. for several hundred kilometers of séguia and some twelve thousand inhabitants point to authenticity or, on the contrary, indicate the effects of history?

Modes and Manurings

241 Tillage differs from the bottom to the top of the mountains
184 and by tools and by modes.

241 First, by the tools. The hoe, agelzim, plays an increasing-
ly larger role from downstream to upstream. Its domain is
412 horticulture, the intercalary modes, and in that case parcels too
184 exiguous to permit the evolutions of the swing plow. At Bul^{c}wān, it intervenes only as an instrument of finicky work on the edges, or else in places where the plow, coming and going, is obliged to leave certain corners in order to turn. In a. Mh'nd, on the contrary, it is the required complement of the plow, so that the tillage is usually done by two together, one holding the stilt, the other the tool in hand.

241 In Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, the classic harnessing of two beasts,
407 zzuja, is used. But in the montagnard domain, there is no more
492 than one beast, /160/ lferd. Yet it is always the man who plows,
184 and never the woman, as is done in the far Sous. A statistical
[462] sample gives for each of these two forms of harnessing, zzuja

/160 cont./

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and lferd, the following distribution:

	a. Abdella	a. Lh'sen	a. Musa	Imt'ddan	Idma	a. Mh'nd	a. H'adduyws	I. Geryun	Total
Two-beast plow	287	76	58						421
One-beast plow...		273	12	63	293	57	145	141	984
Totals	287	349	70	63	293	57	145	141	1,405

The distribution is regulated according to the line of the slope. Upstream, only the lferd is known. Downstream, only the zzuja, which is logical and expected. For the intermediate taqbilt-s, let us go into more detail:

	zzuja	lferd	
a. Lh'sen :	—	—	
Tabratjut	11	13	
Tamesdakht	5	8	
Awinas	10	1	
Agadir	6	3	
Ighilan	9	11	
Buteghradin	2	22	
Iwulla	2	30	
Wanz'id'	3	28	
That is	48	116	for the a. Lh'sen properly speaking.
Iguntar :			
Tagenza	8	22	
Tanammert	1	5	
That is............	9	27	for this vassal taqbilt.
Ibuban :			
Talburt.............	2	20	
Amasin		18	
Timskert		16	
Tugg Lkhir		12	
That is	2	66	for this other vassal taqbilt.
Sekrat :			
Amsgerdat		26	
Fumazir	5	10	
Tageddut	4	8	
Tigumma n-Skrat	8	20	
That is	17	64	for this other vassal taqbilt.
a. Musa	58	12	

241 /161/ The limit of these two types, or rather their fringe of
407 interference, can be clearly figured by a line that would follow
492 from E. to W. the small plain of Tabratjut, downstream from
492 Z'init', and the valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. This symmetry is
184 all the more remarkable because it does not correspond either to
a difference of agricultural richness or to a change in the availability of surface. For example, it is certain that the affluence of soil is indeed greater in a. Mh'nd than in Iguntar: but the latter has zzuja-s. It is thus a matter of something other than the simple play of physical conditions.

241 This impression is confirmed by the fact that this threshold of
192 tools is duplicated by a technical and lexicographical threshold.
184 In the mountains, the word tirit or tisirit designates the planche of
184 irrigation, edged with borders, smoothed, prepared for the water. In a. Âbdella, the same word designates the initial "marquage" /marking/ of the fallow land (1)

241 before sowing. The common practice is in fact that of immediate sowing before plowing. From that one understands the sense of this checkerwork, or rather of this carving in parallel lines, the whole of which affects the form of a grill and which one sees dividing the work fields in autumn. A demarcation for the casting of seeds, a discrimination perhaps between zones where the density of the grain will be more or less forced -- and one knows that in Moroccan agriculture these variations can go from the simple to the double, depending on qualifications of the soil most often obscure to our agronomy -- all of that is understood: it is as well a technique that is conscious and defined completely by the fellah. But, in the Gharb, where the glīb, "first plowing," most often precedes the sowing, and where the direct cast, ^{c}ala ujeh, is practiced only on the sole of sorghum, bernicha, the preliminary technique of the marking also exists. In this way small squares or

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1. Summary bibliography of this obscure notion in J. Berque, "Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIII^{e} siècle)," R. afr., 1950, p. 372, n. 11.

/168 cont./

423 245 the tree is private property (our sector is not familiar with the collective argan tree). But the "harvest," azegg^{w}ay, is collective. Interesting organizations intervene at this time. If, on the landed plane, the orchard is divided into individual lots, the plantation coincides in general, and by great masses, with the part of an ikhs. But dispersion among "quarters" would produce, it is said, irremediable confusion at harvest time if the harvest were not done by collective bans. What is the explanation worth? Let us take several examples:

245 476 ● 184 [624] /The following paragraphs, up to the last one in this section, are in small type in the original source./ In a. Musa, the harvest of almonds is done quarter by quarter, within limits for which guardians, imchchurd'a, are responsible. The work is collective and echeloned. The almonds are put in a pile and then divided "by basket," s-taryalt, in proportion to individual rights, after the shares of the saints and the workers have been subtracted from the pile.

[613] In Imt'ddan, tetrapolis where the initial equilibrium of the ikhs-s is manifested by a nearly regular land-sampling on all the grounds, the harvest of almonds, done in common, gives rise to the laying of heaps of fruits (20, for example, for the almonds of Tagunit), which are then divided by basket among the ikhs-s and, within these, among those having rights.

[624] In a. H'adduyws, except for recent trees, exploited individually, the whole orchard is harvested collectively and the fruit divided by basket, after, if it takes place, the removal of a fifth for the work force. The imchchurd'a /169/ occasionally take turns on watch, as at the outlet of the ravine of Ikis, and thus have the harvest discipline respected.

[613] In Haut Dwiran, the harvest is done by collective ban: one "ties" the valley, qqen. Then one "releases" it, rz'em, zone by zone. The work is done "by echelonment," s-warrabo, among the ikhs-s, whose name here is arktun, plur. arktyun. The practice is likewise applied to the gathering of carobs, which are scattered on the ground in September, but no one is allowed to gather them.

/180 cont./
241 notable differences in physical nature, utilization, social rhythm,
233 and even toponymic density introduce not only a division of labor,
but a qualitative order linked to the life and to the conceptions of
the group.

Livestock Breeding

233 From the village, which is itself at more than 1,800 meters,
221 one sees the mountain covered with snow for a good part of the
[361] year. As in all the Seksawa, stabling, with prepared fodder,
[184] mowed forage, collected grass, stored straw, and preserved acorns
and turnips, is imperative for long periods. Nevertheless, pasturage is organized over two sectors, by rotation. One, the mountain pasture, above and to the S. of the village, the Adrar, is placed in defense from March /181/ to June. The other, on the Ameznir, toward the Ibuban massif, is placed in defense from June to January. One recognizes this procedure of placing in defense, ig^{w}mi, represented in many other cantons of the Seksawa. Together with the practices of mowed forage, preserved fodder, and shelter, it indicates a well-adapted, coherent system.

Dry Crops

241 If one excepts some tillage practiced on the periphery of the
311 crater on the S. side, the great part of the a. Mh'nd sown fields
[243] extends, in the direction of the Ibuban massif, on a bulge of land
[132] of some 2,000 meters in altitude, where, thanks to a favorable,
even though indeterminable pluviometry, and also doubtlessly to
311 momentary snowfall, barley and rye prosper. A very clear thing,
[103] the albur is divided into "quarters," tigh^{W}mrin, or simply
tismawin, so that -- if we follow, from the S. peak, the arc of the circle that is presented to us with, far in the background, the Ilikri -- we find the following toponyms: Iz'ran Umliln, Anrar^{W}-Waman, Naâtjur (characteristic rocky points), a smooth

[Agersili]

/197 cont./

242 241 [184] The second striking trait, and which has already been indicated, is that at Agersili, as in a. Mh'nd, and only there, the area is judged sufficient in order for a crop rotation dealing with barley and maize, but accessorily also with the turnip, to be practiced. On one of our tables we have entered indications gathered over a five-year cycle. That is not very long. But, cross-checked with the local tradition, very affirmative on this point of technique, this rotation may be considered as established. There comes out very clearly a two-part cadence, the classic Mediterranean rotation, with intercalation, if I may venture to say it, of a six-month fallowing: everywhere else, in effect, two campaigns, one of maize, the other of barley, are superposed in the same year. Besides the relative size of the available land, the delay on the cultivation of barley that the annual snowfall imposes at Agersili is perhaps responsible for this slackening of the agricultural rhythm. It seems, however, that there is nothing to that. Another mountain ground, in the Aziwal, practices late sowings (March). Elsewhere, on the contrary, at the same altitude, one sows at the usual time, that is, before the snow falls. That is notably the case for the a. Mh'nd.

242 233 Let us add that, in summer, the harvest of barley and the milking of the animals, which then feed plentifully on the stubble fields, provoke a general displacement: short in terms of the distance covered, but important because it concerns not only the herd but also the families. They establish themselves in the two villages of dry stone that we have observed. The disposition of the crops in continuous soles makes this grazing place possible. In return, the herd fertilizes the earth.

242 The system is thus well contrived. Its size helping, and also the privileged character that it draws from its belonging to the victorious village of Usikis, the most prestigious of the Idma villages, one can recognize in it a veritable classicism of montagnard agriculture.

/214 cont./

312 178 [624] distribution was done neither according to *ikhs* nor according to groupings of parcels, but remained subject to the estimation of the *amazzel*. Neither gentilitial order nor topographic order, but, if one may say it, purely agricultural order, and subject to a troubling, or affecting, power of estimation. We again find there the incidence of political variations on the agrarian regime. Every time, the rising power judges irrational and reforms the previous practice. The *amghar* reacts against the community institution, and the modern administration against the *amghar*. But at each of these stages, a portion of the authentic organization survives. Although broken, and each time on a more modest plane.

103 The analysis of the names of the quarters provides still other indications.

First, one finds there the elements of a classification of the ground: the *h'arch*, "the aspre" /see p. 296/, on one hand, the *h'ofra*, "basin," on the other, with assignment of a part of the one and of the other to different subjects, which indeed appear as collective subjects: Ichkajjen, ait Bihi u Sâid. But the symmetry is limited to these two cases. What is more striking is that, out of 16 names, 11 express these vocations of appurtenance. The so-striking descriptive aspect of the names of quarters in the mountains is not found here, except for a fourth of the designations, which is not much.

It is difficult to conclude anything from such indications,
except mixture and erosion. Nevertheless a look at the parceling
of Bul^{c}wân, South part, appraisable at about 20 hectares, permits
794 supposing certain regularities. The fact that the great institution
184 protective of the patrimonial immutability in the mountains, the
habous /wakf/, is not found here is all the more suggestive. It is
so rare in all the a. Âbdella that its rare appearances in the up-
stream villages, such as Iminteghli or Ilutjan, do not truly enter
into the mores. The mobilization of the lands thus does not
clash with any juridical restraint.

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[423] [657] /217 cont./

these rival claims by conferring on this vast landed-estate a collective status which divides it between the two tribes.

According to certain traditions recorded in a. Lh'sen, this collective should return entirely to the Seksawa, and its assignment at all to the a. Abdella would arise from one of these errors based on the perspective of contiguity, and such as we have often committed in North Africa, in Algeria for example, in the application procedures of the Sénatus Consulte of 1863.

The question was important, because if we had again found in the Inzzūyma traces of a property-owner's vocation for the ensemble of the Seksawa "fractions," our hypothesis on the former landed projection of the tribe toward the plain would have been singularly reinforced by it. It was a matter, in sum, of a study of archeological indications launched a little blindly. Here
243 are the results of this study. The following table groups the areas,
619 in measures of seeds, ᶜabra-s, of the different population groups
433 cultivating the Inzzūyma. There will result from it conclusions
● 184 for the moment negative. No regularity of distribution: a coun-
648 try worn, devastated by history. But a plurality of usufructuary groups: perhaps a remote reminder...

a) Part for the a. Imintanut (Nfifa)

	Nfifa of Imintanout	Other Nfifa	Demsira	Seksawa	People of the Sous	Ud Bessebaᶜ	Chichaoua	Mtugga	Mez'ud'a	Dwiran	People of Argana	People of Amizmiz	
Barley.....	4,047	6	112	153	236	235	3	25	12	0	26	17	4,872
Hard wheat	592	1	33	17	27	6	0	4	0	0	5	4	689
Soft wheat	163	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	171
Totals..	4,802	7	145	170	266	241	3	29	12	0	35	22	5,732

/217 cont./

b) Part for the a. Abdella (Seksawa)

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	a. Abdella	a. Lah' sen	a. H'adduyws.	Idma	Sous	Nfifa	
Barley....	3,064	19	6	83	29	15	3,216
Hard wheat	276	0	1	13	0	0	290
Soft wheat.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals...	3,310	19	7	96	29	15	3,506

N.B. The evaluations are made in ^{c}abra-s of seed, that is, for barley, approximately a quarter of a hectare each.

/218/

V. Consistency, Limits, and Import of an Agrarian Order

A Research Hypothesis

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R. Montagne relates (1) how, after many gropings, one day he conceived, in the Aghbar or the Ogdemt, the explanatory hypothesis for the leff-s. With A. Basset, he traversed these cantons for long days in search of clues on their political history. Facts accumulated, which no link seemed to connect together in the native consciousness: too inveterate, too "normal" for it to perceive laws or linkings there. And here is what flashes out among all these facts, an order that arranges them, justifies them. The past of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/: propagation of chefferies /military districts/, tension between and within groups, conservative discord, anarchies balancing

1. R. Montagne, "Les leff-s berbères au début du XVIII^{e} siècle chez les Masmouda /The Berber leffs at the beginning of the eighteenth century among the Masmouda/," Hesp., 1941, p. 93.

/219 cont./

114 /footnote 2 continued/ des noms propres /For
121 a collection of proper names/." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Afrique Noire*, 1950, p. 535; A. Roux, "Quelques remarques sur la formation des noms de tribus chez les berbérophones du Maroc /Some comments on the formation of names of tribes among the Berberophones of Morocco/," *Actes et Mémoires du III^{e} Congrès international de toponymie et d'anthroponymie*, Brussels, t. III, 1951, p. 485.

000 /The following section, including subsections on the Nfifa, Mtugga, and Mez'ud'a, except for the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./ In form and color, the
133 Demsira country resembles the Seksawa country, of which it
175 forms the exterior boulevard, on the side of the route from the
177 Sous. The tribe, thus exposed directly to the influences of an
● 184 important path of invasion and passage, *agharas ugellid*, has suf-
619 fered intensely, in its structures, from phases of order and from
[634] those of rebellion. It presents itself today as a string of cantons,
stretched in the S.E.-N.W. direction, that of the route. The peak of the Bwibaun separates it from the Seksawa domain, into which, according to tradition, it formerly bit very deeply. Dispossessed of its conquests, it has even been amputated politically: its Iguntar are today subject to the a. Lh'sen. Thus it has suffered even more than the Seksawa from the action of the powers of the plain. Those of its cantons which, like the a. Châib and a. Bkhayr, have been able to escape through isolation have lived more shabbily than the Seksawa. The latter were protected, starting from their middle valley, by a relief in /220/ depth, a resistant hagiology, and probably a historical tradition: all things which are lacking in Demsira.

613 This said concerning the resemblances and differences, the
312 cross-checkings that have been brought to bear on this tribe have
[184] proved positive on a great number of points. Here are the principal ones:

[Mez'ud'a]

/223 cont./

... Mez'ud'a...

619 Same reservations, but also same conclusions. Among
184 them, the plain-mountain balance has been preserved up to our
day. The tribe presents a homogeneity, perhaps acquired dear-
ly, but which, its more modest proportions helping, rather makes
of it the form of unfolding of types that we find, on a more exig-
[312) uous model, in Haut /Upper/ Seksawa, for example. The factor
of originality here is the use of five large séguias from the asif
el-Mâl, and which condition the economic and political life of
at least the whole East part of the tribe.

631 1) A general study shows that, roughly, the Mez'ud'a plain is like the exposition and amplification of the political divisions of the mountains. Each of the latter projects its zone of ownership over a special sector. Whence constant coming and going, and today, and more and more, double habitat. This same fact is observable in the Dwiran. It has already struck our researchers.

613 423 178 2) What has remained unperceived is what degree of detail this agrarian order has reached. Despite the intense appropriation of the plain since the pacification, there remain cultivation communities where the vocation of each ikhs resists all evolutions. Again in 1950 a gentilitial distribution, in terms of the astonishingly ramified and hierarchized system that caps the ikhs-s here, was victoriously imposed, in spite of the privative vivifications, on the largest part of the Ighargharen ground coming back to the a. Gd'id'.

312 613 3) The functioning of the irrigation, a perfect clockwork mechanism, is governed, not by topographical proximity, but by group appurtenance. Whence what would appear to us as difficulties and paradoxes. Thus, it is necessary that, down to the individual echelon, for each /224/ rightful claimant whose turn arrives, there are lands available in the sector watered just at this moment by one or the other of the 5 great séguias diagonally crossing the plain, and which leave between them distances of several kilometers on occasion. There again, as in what concerns the Mtugga, it would be a mistake to pursue in detail

/224 cont./

312 613 analogies which would come out false, in view of the stage of unfolding and the personal genre of the Mez'ud'a.

• 184 Let us moreover hail in passing these original developments which not only illustrate the vitality of each group, when it is not struck by decadence, or external troubles, but the liaison of this vitality with particular techniques. The latter are all centered, as Taine would have said, on a "master idea" of the group. Thus, they occasionally reach the consciousness not only of the experts, but of the common citizens.

128 Perhaps one now has the right to systematize some notes, only the most striking of which have been recorded above, but which one could multiply indefinitely, if one did not fear making the enumeration excessively fastidious. But would this indeed be rash? Would it not be necessary first to continue the probings over the whole extent of the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, indeed, more broadly, the Berbère /Berber/ world? We were not able to do it directly, but oral information confirms that the phenomena observed here are found at the very least on the periphery of the tribes of Imintanout, from the Gedmiwa to the Aghbar and to the
171 Idaw Mh'mud. On the other hand, it is superfluous to say that the minutiae of such analyses, involving the twin call on the toponymy, the parcellary topography, and the morphology of the groups, have hardly tempted researchers in the rest of the Maghreb (1).

1. In any case, it would not appear without interest that at the other end of North Africa, in the Aurès, the opportunities for direct investigation have permitted us to find it indeed lively.

A striking trait of the western Aurès is the parallelism of the two great valleys of the Wād ^{c}Abdi and the Wād Labyod', which constitute two streets of peopling. Life stretches out along these natural paths, in a roughly N.E.-S.W. orientation. Thus it is with the two great rival

/228 cont./

121 and which would call for irrelevant quantitative comparisons,
423 one nevertheless suspects, in the limited cadre of the western
Haut-Atlas, great inequalities between grounds. Consequently, have we not risked basing our description excessively on the limited case of the irrigated ravine, while other aspects, visually broader, also decisive economically, likewise call for analysis? /229/ And, on the other hand, what inexactitude would there not have been in imagining that the montagnard reality presents itself everywhere with equal rigor!

Phenomena of erosion or of disuse can, even in the irrigated, bring on the collapse of the system. Above all, it is the juridical inextricability, itself resulting from a weakening of the communitarian life: in the complexity of the old gentilitial formula the
[178] young generations were no longer met with again. Weary of war,
a jemâa agreement substitutes, for the former devolution of water by ikhs, a watering by contiguous pieces.

But beside this factor of more or less great integrity of the montagnard type, another, doubtlessly of major importance, intervenes: its degree of spread in space.

423 If one turns one's attention from the valley land in order to
184 put it on the high surfaces for rye, for example, one finds that
243 two essential elements are missing for verifying the structural rule
[312] that we have defined: no division of time into turns for water,
[181] and for reason; and fewer minutiae in the toponyms. The life of
[613] the heights is less willing, less refined, looser. The simultaneous
[492] implantation of all the ikhs-s is more theoretical than real. For
this agriculture, distant from the village, requires means of transport, the harness or at the very least the beast of burden. It is not within the reach of all. Not all risk it. It is an agriculture of representative ambitious ones, not of egalitarian citizens. Operating in a social milieu less finely innervated, if I may venture to say it, deprived of this permanent exercise of will and equilibrium, and also of this measure of time that irrigation constitutes, it correlatively puts up with a haziness of the law and a haziness of the techniques: irregular fallowings, returns to wasteland, abandonment of an overly poor harvest, submission to the hazards of the snowfall and of the pluviometry.

/229 cont./

423 613 619 184 To what extent is a gentilitial distribution, in itself called upon to subdivide itself among foyers by a drawing of lots, practicable in the case where superficies, human forces, and water module assume a breadth more important than in the narrow canton? It then seems that a sort of dilation is imparted to the elements in the case. New subdivisions are intercalated between the basic subgroups and the individual: thus the three "thirds" of the a. H'adduyws, the binary rhythm of the a. Lh'sen, the localization by villages of the Idma "minor ikhs-s." All the more reason that it would appear among the Mez'ud'a, where a generous plains affluence presents something like a magnifying projection of the tribal structure. Apart from a certain order of grandeur, the notion of ikhs is lost /230/ as a basis of distribution. Then conventional divisions intervene, such as in Mez'ud'a the "centuries," myawat, which become the subjects [671] of law. And the law is ramified by degrees down to the "foyer," takat, but not without putting into play other measures of debit and of agricultural surface. That is all the more marked in Mez'ud'a, because beside such distributions for the water from the channels of the asif el-Mâl, the distribution of source water remains gentilitial. On the one hand, the solution of breadth, on the other, solution of narrowness. This coefficient of contraction or of dilation, of grain more or less loose or held together is essential for the interpretation of the facts. One realizes that by 619 634 184 the example of the Mez'ud'a. Again in this tribe it is a matter of the harmonious enlargement of a taqbilt of traditional type, an enlargement whose steps are to be read clearly in the present structures. More vast, more complex, and above all more instructive would be the Mtugga example, which covers an immense country and some thirty thousand souls. The ensemble is composed of several taqbilt-s substantial enough themselves to interpose one or two other levels of classification between them and the ikhs-s that compose them.

423 613 184 Thus the elements of the montagnard order: gentilitial division of the soil, vitality of the equilibrium among ikhs-s, parcellary orchestration, are subject to different fates as one

/230 cont./

423 613 184 approaches the plain or as the system is worn away. But perhaps even more in terms of the geographical breadth of the phenomena studied. Thus analysis leads here to the idea of variations in the space, to which we shall have to return.

171

The Coefficient of Value (1)

1. H. Lhote, Comment campent les Touareg /How the Tuareg camp/, 1947, p. 21, notes the clear division of the course among the Saharan Touareg, contrasting with its promiscuous character among the Sudanese Touareg.

312 In many cases, the division of the water by turns intervenes
423 only in a period of low water. Another method is established
when the waters are high. The distinction of these two rhythms
of abundance or of low water is, moreover, a constant motif. It
[177] governs the relations between Seksawa and downstream beneficiaries, Dwiran and Ud Bessebā^{c}. Correlatively, scarcity brings into play, this would be in the matter of pasturage, narrow divisions. Thus, in Ibuban, at Tugg Lkheyr and at Timskert, the compression of the villages by the arête of the Ameznir, where the territory of the a. Mh'and begins, entails this extraordinary thing: the division of the pasturage by "cairns," lkraker.

829 Certainly, other causes can intervene. Thus this condensation /231/ of toponymy and also of human interests and work, even of affectivity, which characterize, in relation to the vast extent of mountain spaces, the tillage ground and its heart: the irrigated ground. In all the cases, a common element prevails: that of the value /Fr. prix/ attached by these men to such and such of their goods: land for cultivation, water, or pasture, in terms of its narrowness, its rarity, or other elements more obscure for us. This perspective of rarity is, in relation to the great arable stretches of plain, such as in Chaouia or in Tadla, very characteristic of the Atlas. Another consequence of the evolution

/237 cont./

778 about whom a marabout from the S. said to the Sultan in 1882:
776 "They do not want their people to be oppressed" (2).

2. Lieut.-colonel Justinard, Les Ait Ba ᶜAmran /The Ait Ba ᶜAmran/, 1930, p. 106.

181 A closely guarded isolation, vaguely supernatural, has not /238/ failed to react on the physiognomy traditionally attributed to the people and to the site of the valley. This was done in a double sense, according to the very ambiguity of this sort of idea. Cheats, pagans, frauds, and magicians -- the Seksawa are seen as such by their montagnard neighbors, who differ from them profoundly. [184] How their personality contrasts with that, less rich and less intense, also less redoubtable, of the Dwiran, the Demsira, or the Nfifa! The analysis perhaps fails to account for such-and-such a peculiarity, but the fact is there. [167] Waves of emigrants from the Anti-Atlas and the Sous were able to penetrate the Seksawa, to remake them from within, without succeeding in modifying a character that one is therefore led to link, not to such-and-such an ethnic composition, but to a people's personality and to a country's vocation. Only what is to be understood by these words?

Ritual Coloration of the Valley

175 In the fourteenth century, Ibn Khaldûn echoed the disquieting, but suggestive rumors concerning the Seksawa chefferie /military district/ of his time (1).

1. We have translated this passage integrally in our "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, pp. 387 sq.

In the eighteenth, under the pen of a scholar curiously archeologist, the chronicle of the marabout of Tasaft evokes traits of the

/239 cont./
000 correlative traits without doubt. The religious life of the Sek-
771 sawa has undoubtedly been hierarchized for a long time. At the
776 top, a national saint. Far below, a saint of more ordinary type,
Sidi Mh'and of Ammern; accessit: Sidi Lah'sen of Assttif, re-
cent historical personage; still lower the classic plebe of "good
little saints." In rite, as in belief, vigorous centralization, but,
by /240/ that itself, elimination, purification. The great ma-
jority of these plebeians of prayer remain without visage, without
cult, indeed without name. Over the great ones is exercised a
criticism which springs not only from the malice of the milieu or
from problematical orthodox influences, but undoubtedly also
from the imperious polarization of the system.

778 On the other hand, the nonfigurative sacred abounds. It has
782 as support, very often, these little village mosques from where, it
is said, the prayer ascends directly to God, whereas in passing by
way of its saints it risks hitting only the archangel Gabriel, Sidna
Jebrir. The pious explanation leaves out the communal character
of the sanctuary. But this character is very important, and very
779 likely the most ancient. On this level of local life traits of in-
division are always observed among religious and juridical rites.
In spite of so many external influences, and internal transforma-
tions, this is still in many respects one of the foundations of the
life of the groups. Only, in religious matters, as in juridical
matters, this narrowly local life is integrated into an ensemble
which acts upon it at least as much as it acts upon it.

Situation of Seksawa Law in Relation to Its Neighbors

671
[829] The Sekşawa feel a fundamental difference between their law
[784] and that of their neighbors, like them old sedentary peoples of
the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, such as especially Idaw
Mh'mud, Demsira, Dwiran, people of the Haut Asif el-Mâl and
of the Aghbar. They fail to analyze it. In fact, their law fits into the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. It stands out only by differences
in detail. But they are vigorous and, so to speak, systematic.

/240 cont./

184 This immediate datum is thrust upon the observer as on the users. In addition, for the analysis, it will be the best of the bases of departure.

Admittedly, difficulty begins almost at once. For if one indeed sees the basic unity, contrasting with the vehemence of the personalities that stand out from it, the investigation fails to press the contrast harder. For example, we do not know the Gedmiwa, a group of antiquity as venerable as the Seksawa, well enough for the comparison between the two to go beyond the plane of simple description. It is not yet possible to define seriously the culture of this Moroccan South-West, which asserts itself by characters as tangible as the speech or the very figure of the inhabitant. It is not yet possible to state precisely or to explain how, out of this homogeneity, particularisms /241/ sufficiently lively for their exchanges to be ordered in relations of external law are articulated.

131 [133] Here between the Lemgo, the Kattos, and the Atlasic arête is a mountainous quadrilateral some thirty kilometers on a side as the crow flies. At least four juridical identities are crowded there: Nfifa, Demsira, Dwiran, and Seksawa. And each one in turn is subdivided.

619 The consistency of the *amerwas*, "matrimonial gift," the
[585] effective force of coswearers imposed according to the gravity of
[691] a litigation go from simple to double if the litigants do not be-
[695] long to the same unit. Today the unit is the "tribe": Seksawa,
Dwiran, etc. But this can also be, more authentically, what we
619 call the "fraction," that is, the *taqbilt*. And there are seven or
634 eight of them merely in Seksawa. Thus, in Demsira, the rate of
585 the *amerwas* varies according to four zones which apply the
regime of exteriority to one another. In the case of a girl given
[184] to a Mtuggi, the *chchard'*, stipulated marriage-settlement for
the benefit of the bride, includes in certain *taqbilt*-s, and not in
619 others, the obligation for landed property. In land matters,
634 extracantonal testimony is not secured. Avowed reason: because
671 the foreigner could not be well informed. But, obviously, it is
[186] because the group prizes its juridical integrity. Between different
[184]

619 /241 cont./
634 cantons complex rules govern the validity of the notarial writing
671 itself. Thus, in Nfifa, only the act drawn up by native t't'olba
184 or North Demsira or Mtugga is good. Otherwise it is no longer
acceptable.

619 Mechanism of cellular defense, one might say. And also
182 diversified code of exchanges between cells. Legislating for it-
184 self, protected from its neighbors by invalidations, restrictions,
or stipulations, surrounded by this type of armor that the doubling of the procedural rate constitutes, the group certainly, and although its law differs but little, poses as an individual.

184 It will thus be legitimate to speak of the Seksawa system,
original part of the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. And if it is still impossible, or merely premature, to define clearly the relations of this originality to the surrounding originalities or to the matter of the ensemble, one will not, for all that, let oneself be caught by this methodological grief that every investigator of the North African institution feels at first before the immensity of the tasks and the insufficiency of the materials.

/242/ Presence of Islam in the Law

779 There is, moreover, a certain angle from which -- paradoxi-
671 cally enough, since indeed more ample -- the problem has been
not only scrutinized by Islamic and European science (1),

1. One thinks especially of the studies of M. Morand, L. Milliot, R. Maunier, G.-H. Bousquet.

but experimentally felt, lived by the foreigner. It is that of the relations between such-and-such "customary law" and the Mussulman law. In fact, we believe, the political or cultural discordancy of the upper valleys is far from revealing any rupture in the moral or geographic continuity of the Maghrebi societies. The Mussulman law, acting everywhere, albeit unequally, on native factors, combines with them in a diversity that nevertheless is

/251 cont./

241 796 [778] One of the most curious ones, and which, something to remember, is celebrated without even the pretext of a name, takes place on the peak that dominates the holy place of Z'init', the Tamjlocht. Each year, in March, a certain number of Imt'ddan families (2) delegate in turn a personage who, solemnly led to the summit, is fettered there, then left alone. The procession has not returned to the village before the actor, freed by supernatural intervention, also rejoins his parvis. This rite of the fettered, whose character [182] [783] of collective magic is not doubtful, visibly has a naturist function. The notions of scapegoat (perhaps a memory of former /252/ human sacrifice) and of spring augury are combined here in a synthesis of vivid coloring. What the fettered one thinks and feels, if one could obtain a sufficiently sincere account from the hero of this annual miracle, would be of great interest.

000 Alas, Maghrebi ethnology does not take part in the collection of documents so profound. In addition to an almost clinical complexity of experimentation, a refined possession of the language, sustained attention in order to grasp the psychological demarcation between individual emotion and group conventions, an almost

● [184] 2. The rite of the Tamejlocht is incumbent only on the people of Tinwalin and on the ikh-s who have emigrated from there: a Waferyad', a Uchikar, a Wakraray. The people of the "metropole" Tamt'ddit do not participate in it. It is to be noted that it is the people of yet another village, Tagunit, who are ministers of the rite of Lalla Aziza. The Imt'ddan being visibly associated with the cult of the latter, and very probably in place of more ancient elements, perhaps the a. Gasa, this sharing of competency causes difficult problems, touching on a differentiated structure of the group.

/273 cont./
776 (H'âh'a). Imintanout, which constitutes, at the outlet of the col,
794 the turntable for all this hagiology, knows two directions: that of
the South with the Nâçirî, and that of the East with the saint of
Tameçloh't.

Second aspect: that of the more or less great density of the
bonds. Of all the Mtugga, only the Intamlin, and nothing but a
[181] part /274/ among them, serve a foreign saint. The haughty in-
dependence of the tribe thus manifests itself again in that (1).

[195] 1. Has it been thus at every epoch? The western part of the tribe seems, in the sixteenth century, to have participated actively in the *jihâd*. Cénival identifies at Tamalukt the Culeihat el-Muridin of Léon, *Sour in.*, *Port.*, t. I, p. 765, n. 1. Besides, one of the near successors of al-Janûlî, ^{c}Abd al-Karîm b. ^{c}Umar al-Fallâh', is called at-Tikkî at the same time as al-H'âh'î, *Mumti^c al-asmâ^c*, 1305, p. 45, l. 2 *de fine*. The ritual personality of a group therefore varies not only with its morphology, but also with its history. But we are only rarely equipped to follow these relations with sufficient precision.

Inversely, among the Seksawa, the people of Sekrat make use of
all the patronages possible, local and outside, and set the price
on it. They have vowed no less than "twelve Fridays of butter" to
[634] various saints. In a general fashion the principal concern of the
Seksawa bears on their cantonal saints, and evidently on the na-
[619] tional saint in particular, whose cult reacts on all the rest of their
ritual life.

792 But if there is tribal stiffness or particularism, there is also
[794] participation in vast hagiological areas which imperious silhou-
[184] ettes dominate. These are, it seems, two strongly contrasting

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792 ritual styles. In the case of the allegiance to the Nâçirî of Tam-
184 grût (2).

2. On the zaouia and the brotherhood, the best study, and the most recent one, is that of G. Drague, Aperçu sur l'histoire religieuse du Maroc /Survey of the religious history of Morocco/, 1950, pp. 185 sq.

their opposition is lighted up, for on the one side the ample radiance of this zaouia is almost entirely identified with confreric affiliation, that is, tends toward individual rather than collective adherence, toward initiatory option rather than the tie of the ground, toward esoterism rather than communal publicity. But these definitions of the Maghrebi confrerism, to the hazardous measure where they go beyond maraboutism, are more ideal than real (3).

[191] 3. Moreover they have been rather the business of the Algerian school: Rinn, Depont and Coppolani, Aug. Berque. The "marabout" is not always opposed to the "brotherhood." The case of the Algerian Rah'mâniyya is the most typical in this regard.

In the case of Sidi Ah'med u Musa (4),

4. Cf. Justinard, "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVI^{e} siècle /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/." Ar. mar., 1933, pp. 5 sq., model of direct, precise, and sensible investigation.

the patron of the Tazerwalt, more of confreric cadre: the allegiance is no less strong, the itineraries vast, the figures vivid.

/274 cont./

794 Third aspect, linked to the preceding: that of the combination of all these affinities on the local echelon. Although in principle it is a matter of negotiations purely contractual, spontaneous, and which respond, in a number of cases, to the chance of the passage of a wandering saint, or of a favor received, the homogeneity of the milieu brings about certain regularities: in all the mountain of Imintanout, it is the house of Tamgrut and that of the a. Tamment (Sidi Âbdallah u Sâid) which drain off the maximum of offerings. But all /275/ this in dispersed order. Sometimes it is the whole canton, sometimes only the village, sometimes only a family of the village that dedicate an offering to such-and-such a saint.

794 184 /The next four paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ It is in this way that in Idma the aristocratic gens of the Iseqqalen pay annually to Sidi Âbdallah u Sâid one sheep per flock and one measure out of 40 of the harvest for each of its subdivisions established in a village at Tasselli, Usikis, Tannsmekht, [613] Talmud'ât. In a. Abdella, only two ikhs-s, the one of Bûl^{c}wân, the other of Agawz, furnish the mârûf of Sidi Âbderrahman u Sâid, which takes place in September.

Other examples. In a. Musa, two groups, those "from above" and those "from below," are in opposition to each other. The former owe Lalla Aziza a measure of barley and half a one of maize per foyer, plus a goat. The latter apply another system: half of the first basketful, taryalt, of barley taken from the threshing floor, the other half going to Sidi Mh'and, plus a kharruba of maize per foyer. But even within these groups, certain villages have particular devotions. That of Igernsuq, for example, sometimes dissociates itself from the general regime. [613] It has been seen that this dissociation may, in the matter of feasts, go down to the ikhs.

In a. Âbdella, Tuz'z'umt annually pays Tamgrût a measure of olives, one of barley, one of almonds, and a sheep per foyer. Ilutjan, immediately downstream, pays to Sidi Âbdallah u Sâid some barley, maize, oil, and the butter of two Fridays. Bûl^{c}wân does not pay chchard' to the outside.

/275 cont./

794 184 The a. Lh'sen, so coherent for all that touches on the agrarian order or on the cantonal devotions, assert on this subject a characteristic diversity: Wanz'id' pays to the Nâçirî a measure of barley, 100 nuts, a Friday of butter per foyer. But its neighbor, Iwulla, serves Sidi Abdallah u Sâid, in addition to the Nâçirî. One would find the same diversity among the Idma villages, a canton nevertheless very uniform.

A comparison with the neighboring Mez'ud'a would show this diversity, enriched moreover by recourse to a more extensive scale of saints, being ordered in a harmonious system, with great movements of the ensemble. This sort of comparison is not our objective, and we shall not dwell upon it. Nevertheless, on this
619 178 plane as well as on many others, the contrast between the balanced structure of the Mez'ud'a and that, partitioned and divergent, of the Seksawa is striking. Or rather, there ceases to be contrast there if one eliminates this vague word "tribe," which labels for us, in both cases, realities how different! It is neces-
[634] sary in fact to compare the Mez'ud'a, not to the Seksawa in their totality, but to the Idma or to the a. Lh'sen: the Mez'ud'a are a taqbilt that has known how or was able to keep its basic structures, all while distending itself to a population of more than 2,000 foyers. While in Seksawa, from the bottom to the top of the valley, vicissitudes have broken up an /276/ equivalent population into eight or nine organisms. It is not without interest that the study of religious forms thereupon meets, in its conclusions, those of history.

The transformations that have modified the structure of the groups, in reducing or amplifying the geographical ensembles, have naturally acted on the local economy of the sacred, of the
794 184 mystical patronages of their fiscal counterpart. Correlatively, the variety of the relations between the saint and his partners has become very great. On the one hand, large zones of influence. On the other, personal devotions and initiations. Here affiliations proceeding from a free choice. There collective or hereditary clienteles, the origin of which is no longer perceived by anyone.

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794 184 But these diverse characteristics originate at the stage of rustic exchanges between villagers and saints of grounds: and it is at this stage that they may best be analyzed.

Seasonal Rites, Collective Pacts, Individual Contracts

796 Habitat of the sacred: personal or simply communal sanctuaries. Rhythm or phases of the sacred: these periodic renewals marked by agapae, pomp, and sacrifices. Finally, accountancy of the divine: here is a very important third element, perhaps the most striking, and which impresses on the institution a cachet of specific ratiocination and avarice. And although it plunges into collective apprehension and depends narrowly on the recurrence of natural phenomena, it manifests itself under the aspects of individualism and conscience. [241] [221] There is something very remarkable there: the liturgical periodicity, itself linked to the agricultural periodicity, terminates in a contract.

794 212 875 The old jurists from the Sous, who make themselves the echo of quarrels among hamlets for the recompense of the fqih or the repairs on the communal mosque, raised the question of the obligation of the Friday prayer in the case where several hamlets or "bicoques" /shanties/ (in the etymological sense) have together [634] only one mosque, which is not close to any of them. The liaison of this institution with the taqbilt, which is distributed in a plurality of habitat, furnishes an interesting historical suggestion. [312] [423] Another characteristic that one might draw from these jurists is the liaison of the recompense of the fqih to the turns for water, that is, to sum up, to the agnatic order (1).

[465] 1. Ajwiba said to be from "Bennâçer," that is, from the sheik Ibn Nâçir of Tamgrût, ms. zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 54, 1. 7 sq. The salary of the fqih is fixed on ayyâm dawlat ᶜuyûni-him. The ar. /Arabic/ dawla, "turn," corresponds to the chl. /Shluh/ tawala. But is there derivation?

/304 cont./

776 796 origins and its attachment to an individualist atmosphere undoubtedly armed it against this sort of confusion. To which its aspect owes some originality, but also some singularity. It does not have mârûf, and the present marabout takes pride in this.

776 With its intimate association with the gest of the Idma, whose energetic and sly personality it shares, it is this individual reserve with regard to the surrounding hagiology, this persistent vein of orthodox culture, here associated with a disdainful criticism of the milieu, that form its peculiarity.

/305/

A Classic

773 776 ● 184 The figure of the saint of Ammern is much less intellectual. And much less precise. The traditions concerning his origin differ. According to one, he would have been an Idma, a contemporary of sidi Lah'sen. According to others, he came from the Ammeln of the Anti-Atlas, whose distorted name his zaouia still bears, and this would have taken place toward the beginning of our eighteenth century. Finally, according to others, he goes back, through the classic intermediary of the Marrakech mystic, al-Ghazwânî, to the great Machîch al-^{c}Alamî. Three traditions, three systems: one "national"; another conformable to the movement of populations coming from the Anti-Atlas; a third being integrated in the cycle of the Moroccan çufisme /Sufism/, with Nordic origins and relay in Marrakech. Profusion of legitimacy!

776 175 According to the last tradition, which is warranted by a silsila, a document registering a "chaîne initiatique" /initiatory chain/ on a nonauthenticated copy, which is exhibited at the zaouia, sidi Mh'and died in 820 Heg.: 1417. Eight intermediaries would separate him from the Cheikh /Sheik/ of the Jebel ^{c}Alam. This date contradicts the one, much more recent, which would suppose a legendary journeyman-period with the saint of Assttif. But there is nothing unexpected in these antiquities or in these combinations of cycles: the incertitude over the origins is an adjuvant for the fervor.

/306 cont./

776 The figure that results is sometimes that of a pedant, some-
823 times that of a maker of springs. The traits that are ascribed to
[789] him in this sense are numerous. The waters of Meghdir, T'abya,
ait Wardas, Usikis, Iggayzen, Wanz'id', Lâwina of Sidi Ah'med
u Âli are attributed to his miracles. Finally the source of the
Amerdul on the Tabgurt, famous for the difficult regulations of
irrigation between high-mountain villages, is attributed to him.
776 Letters and hydraulics, there are two specialties well adapted to
the milieu. So well adapted that they are merged in the moral
climate of the country, without a personal visage emerging from
it. Here one again joins the stream of rural saints, whose type
sidi Mh'and embodies.

776 But, a striking thing, he is practically the only one to em-
● 184 body it among the Seksawa, whom an originality very clearly
619 contrasts, on this plane, to the neighboring groups. Among the
Demsira, for example, the figures of classic Maghrebi saints
776 abound. Here is sidi Nâçer of Tamarwut, who, patient husband
184 of a quarrelsome wife, employs lions as forest workers to fell for
him and to tie up his wood for him. Again lions serve as mounts
619 for two doctors of Maâred'. And sidi Mh'and b. Âbdelkrim who,
825 again by lions, had his maize threshed! Only lions, the profane
will say! But the fact is that their name, figured iz'mawn in the
plural, designates properly the powers of the man of God. It is in
this way that one speaks of the "lions of sidi Ah'med u Musa"; the
term enters the lexicon of popular doctrine. We found it again in
776 the topography of the a. Musa. Again in Demsira, sidi Brahim
184 n-ait Lqad'i instructs the most redoubtable spirits in the forest.
Sidi Lah'sen b. Moh'ammed of Iregh drove away birds and rodents,
619 so harmful to the crops. The Seksawa hagiology, imperiously
centralized on one heroine, Lalla Aziza, appears dryer, more
organized. In this not very exploitable domain of comparisons between tribes, it is necessary to stop here with an impression, which
only a monographic investigation of this part of the Atlas will be
[181] able to infirm or confirm. If it were verified, this trait would re-
join a certain /307/ number of others to make up for the Seksawa
the original physiognomy that one perceives in them, without always being able to define it.

/307 cont./
776 to be added the proceeds of the large feast celebrated each year
794 at Ammern itself and the fees for the pilgrimages to the tomb of
sidi Mh'and.

This is not the place to pursue this kind of evaluation. The above figures will nevertheless give a sufficient idea of the economic support of the hagiology in Seksawa and of the role that it plays in the circulation of goods, as a center of attraction and consumption.

796 For some fifty years, on the tenth of September, Ammern
782 has been the seat of a so-called immolation ceremony, tighersi-
win, like that of Lalla Aziza, which, however, is older. An ox
is sacrificed by each canton of the Seksawa, to which are added
(184) the Iberhan. The resemblances with the ceremony of /308/ Lalla
Aziza are great, except that the procession here goes in the direc-
tion of up the valley, up to an area situated above the sanctuary.
The same Mohammedan litany resounds there, grandiose in this
rugged spot. Then offerings in money are deposited, while in the
sanctuary the recitations of the scholars buzz. The crowd presses
796 in, curious, moved. Business is done: animals, olives, almonds.
One strikes up acquaintances; one makes agreements for betrothals
or other combinations. A moralist mountebank says, matched
with emphatic gesticulations, the h'ddit, "homily of instruction"
on the duties of prayers, ablutions, etc. He catechizes his audi-
ence, whom he has had put the hands together in the gesture of
vow, ddu^{c}ā. And undoubtedly he will not hasten to have it re-
open them too soon, for he puts it little by little in a state, not
of trance, but of emotion and plenitude, of which the final col-
lection will feel the effect. With moving gestures, cleverly in-
termixing his sermon with religious couplets, chants, interroga-
tions ad hominem, shaking a sheet covered with characters that
he pretends to consult, even though he does not know how to read,
he impresses the good people, from whom he elicits from time to

/330 cont./

695 Notably in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas, its favorite milieu, they have posed it as the sole mode of proof. In Morocco, as in Algeria, it holds a place of honor in Berbère /Berber/ studies, which, according to general vagaries, seem not to have sufficiently circumscribed its aspects. Does Chleuh /Shluh/, and more precisely Seksawa, society, with its careful demarcations permit doing it? It will permit in any case, thanks to good fortune, the discovery of an act from the end of the fifteenth century, casting some light upon a considerable problem, that of the historical relations between plural testimony and the plural oath, cojuratio and lafîf, in Moroccan Mussulman law.

695 In Seksawa the oath is above all a releasing of magico-
784 religious forces. That is demonstrated by what I shall call "the
exception of Aldebaran." No oath may be taken in the mountains
[245] before the period called that of Aldebaran (beginning of May): it
[824] is the one when the fructification of the almond trees is con-
sidered assured. If the interdiction is broken, the entire harvest
[823] will be lost. On the other hand, the oath, even an insincere one,
remains harmless if it is taken by the Seksawa on the plain. No
moral explanation, punishment for perjury or anything else is al-
leged. It is indeed, and almost expressly, the releasing of forces
[585] whose effect is feared. Let us note as a corollary that the a.
H'adduyws proscribe not only the taking of oaths, but the celebra-
tion of marriage, tameghra, during the critical period. The
Idma, the Imt'ddan, the a. Lh'sen from above, the Iguntar also
● [184] do this. Only /331/ the a. Ȧbdella and the a. Musa escape the
rule. Even among the latter, those from downstream forbid taking
oaths before the ddurt feast of the Regraga in May. In the upper
cantons, the interdiction extends not only to the taking of oaths
and the celebration of marriage, but also to the solemn reading of
titles to the terrain, which furnishes a nice confirmation of the
views set forth above.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ To return to the matter of the oath, let us again call on a commentary of the a. Lh'sen.

/363 cont./

794 /footnote 2 continued/ theory, however, the
423 woman's right to inherit is absolute. It is
428 exercised not only in the margin, /this foot-
562 note is continued on the following page in
the original source/ lh'âchit, that the "agnatic
sequestration" lets exist, but it is a constant
[432] procedural theme. The women's share often
being forgotten in the acts of sales, this will
later bring about their annulment for all that
concerns the women's share, and without pre-
• [184] scription intervening. On the other hand, in
neighboring societies, the Aghbar for example,
if one is to believe the in. /unpublished/ mon-
ograph by Lepage, the woman cannot possess
landed property in the Imsifern leff (a. Gasa,
a. Tkssit, Amismatert). She may, on the
contrary, in the Inghertit leff (a. Gâir,
Imelwan, Iwensenkten).

794 From these habous, pious devolution, even distant, /364/ is for-
428 mally absent. That then is the extreme case of what has been
562 observed nearly everywhere in North Africa under the name of
[171] "private habous," and where the exegesis has correctly seen a
procedure of disinheritance of the women. Here the intention does
not disguise itself by any stratagem, is crudely displayed. The
founder specifies that, in case of extinction of the male branches,
there will be a carry-over of the ensemble of the inheritance.

794 War, emigration have sometimes posed this case. This is the
428 so-called type of the inquirâd'. It is rather frequent. An inter-
esting fatwâ of 1220 Heg.: 1805, emanating from a jurisconsult
[175] of the Imt'ddan, concludes with the help of texts that the carry-
over of the habous should benefit only indigent heirs and in order
of decreasing necessity (ih'tiyâj). A second opinion, bracketed
with the first one, is further supported by the judgment of the
jurists of the Gezzula, utilized in his Ajwiba by ^{c}Abd Allah b.
Ibrâhîm at-Tamullî. Ar-Rasmûkî would have likewise judged in
this manner.

794 /365 cont./ But the customary judge opposes to this
exception /plea/ the necessity of establishing by "inventory,"
428 jrîda, the initial consistence of the properties on which the foundation
[695] bears. He opposes to it also — but since when? — the
argument of peaceable possession exercised by the defendant, if
nevertheless the claimant or his creators were present in the country.
Obviously no conclusion can be drawn from these /366/
[177] practices. There are mixed together here preoccupations of equity
inspired by the French advisor, a concept of decennial prescription
[178] borrowed from the fiqh, and a general tendency toward the consolidation
of acquired rights. So many recent evolutions.

121 This geographic distribution perhaps marks different stages of
794 the institution. In this hypothesis, the "purest" one would be
found upstream, and especially in these three I. Mh'mud cantons
where the land is entirely immobilized. It is possible that that
would be the original stage. But if it is, it is necessary to recognize
that the parties' freedom, by a curious paradox, went further
in the matter than the fiqh wished. At least among the Seksawa
an express convention of the devolutionaries can free the landed
property. Is that a matter of an eventuality more theoretical than
effective? This is impossible to specify. In fact, as is known, the
settlement of landed-property affairs took place "under the sign"
of the fiqh and in any case in a climate completely different
from that of the conflict. Therefore no jurisprudence that was not
suspect of transposition at the very least. As for the oral tradition,
[173] today very much impaired by the progressive disappearance of the
old people, and the influence of recent organizations, it becomes
very subject to caution as soon as the problem becomes nuanced.
It is too stuttering for one to be able to base anything precise on it.

794 One thing is sure, however. These foundations are subordinated
428 to the stipulation of a "reserve" or "margin," lh'achit, to
which the habous does not apply. This portion of the landed
671 property remains subject to the common law. The women benefit
[562] from it, either by having it available as property or by only enjoying
[184] the usufruct. On these points the variety is very great between
taqbilt-s and expresses complex evolutions. Nevertheless, and in
all cases, the absence of lh'achit is a nullity. In a milieu as
bereft of precision concerning the notarial practice, one weighs
what this formalist rule will bring in the way of surprises in the
course of proceedings. Quite often this unforseen new thing will

/393 cont./

175 121 Intellectual, technical, and linguistic shock. Simultaneously a phenomenon better understood agitated all of Morocco. This was the reaction of the masses before the Christian enterprises of the littoral. New burst of hagiology. The "tireurs" /marksmen, drawers/ pursued in the most remote cantons their confreric training. Saints swarmed. Their high-colored figure formed the synthesis between the Islamic universals and the ritual forces of the canton. Thus, the great South "pole," sidi Ah'med u Musa. Although, since the Mérinides, the Seksawa mountains remained in a fierce isolation, one cannot grant that they remained completely apart. There, as undoubtedly elsewhere in the Sous, the man of God and the warrior, with the rural notary, henceforth made up a /394/ triptych by which this society expected to resolve its contrasts.

[137] [177] At the same time there arrived in the depths of lost valleys, in the form of new plants, or new money, some of the great movements that were then shaking the world: plant revolution of maize, attraction of the great colonial exploitation with sugar cane, appeal of the factories of the littoral, latest triumphs of the importation of Sudanese gold. All this created a conjuncture of a singular power, which corresponds in the chronicles to the rise of these petty marabouts of the bend of the Drâ, the Saâdians. Node of economy, of institution, of spirituality, of event. Can one go back farther? This is what, too hypothetically without doubt, one has attempted to do.

Ideals and Comportments

577 [128] [184] Let us now jump four or five centuries to carry ourselves to the beginning of the twentieth. Let us abandon the historical reconstitution and the analysis of the actual institution in order to perceive the morality. Is it already too late? Here is what we can observe in any one of the Seksawa taqbilt-s.

[571] All personal existence here is enclosed in the confused ensemble of affective relations. Wasps' nest of comportments, all having their moral qualification, as well as their economic

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Still it seems less rich on this point than in other regions. The procedures brought into play on these occasions: berru or tberrit, "denunciation" of the original group; tighersi, "sacrifice of accession" to the new group -- have left here only a very rough souvenir. The forms are worn. But the institution has lost nothing of its affective or practical suggestions.

And the synthesis that is detected between notions such as judiciary rites, plural oaths, alliance, segregation or extension of collectivities undoubtedly restores the true atmosphere of the leff.

/427/ The Leff in Seksawa

616 It is true that the Seksawa do not offer a very rich contribution to this study (1).

1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, p. 186, observes this asymmetry. He notes also that the Mtugga escape the leff-s, p. 193.

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Among them today the notion of the leff is well obliterated, in any case stripped of the sentimental suggestions that it may maintain elsewhere, in the very close Gedmiwa, for example. Its theoretical role itself, that of a balanced dualism opposing piece by piece, as on a chessboard, the taqbilt-s of one and the same ensemble, remains unperceived.

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Everyone in Seksawa may be considered as Eghǒrti, plur. Ighertan, with the exception of the a. Lh'sen, rather vigorously Imsifern, and by this title maintaining ties with the homonymous fractions of the Mez'ud'a, their saint sidi Ah'med u Âli, and their brothers beyond Tichka, the Tigguga. But the qualification is not always clear. If the Idma are unhesitatingly of the first group, it is not the same for the a. Musa and the a. H'adduyws. The former, by general admission, have wavered between the two flags.

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It seems then that the analysis must take other routes. Two data of observation are perhaps going to help here.

First of all, it is necessary to substitute the indigenous metaphor for the European metaphor. It is not as two opposing fronts of European nations that the man of the Atlas, with good reason, sees the leff-s. But as an option with two terms, whose most convenient image is for him that of the confrontation of two ranks of coswearers. Let us follow this indication. From the plural oath to the leff, a coefficient of spreading in space perhaps accounts for at least part of the differences between these two types of solidarity.

/430/ Secondly, if the attempts at definition of the leff-s by their content have been unfruitful up to now, and if it has been necessary, in order to explain this failure, to resort to the hypothesis of decadence, would it not be both more economical and more in keeping with objectivity to shift the emphasis from the problems of content in order to attach it to the form itself?

A Tension With Mutation of Signs

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Not far from the Seksawa, toward the S.-W., another mountain group, the Idaw T'anan (1),

1. In. /unpublished/ Monographie by R. Montagne, 1927, and personal references.

has remained unacquainted with these alternations. Its ethnological tenor is strong. Its legend of founding saint, the vitality of the assemblies, the original functions falling to the imz'ran during their round of annual justice still affirm an institution plenitude, excluding any idea of caducity, not long ago. Now the leff is unknown here. Its role is assumed here by a local organization, no longer binary, but ternary. All the public life of the Idaw T'anan rests upon a division into three equivalent groups. Each of them separately may enter into outside alliances. But a lively solidarity, made up in part by these very antagonism, in part by rites, maintains a community.

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616 571 184 121 Would it be simple tautology to emphasize that if the Idaw T'anan thus escape the dualism of the leff-s, it is because of such an originality? The force of their internal rhythm, by three and not by two, has been able to keep alive among them a tension sufficient, it seems, to exclude the other formula. Let us note that in certain respects, the tripartition of the a. H'adduyws, for example, could account for analogous effects. But in this case it expresses something entirely different from an organic division. It arouses rather the idea of artificial fractionings, resulting from more or less official and deliberate simplifications, which other ensembles offer. The truth is that it is necessary to study at length the individuality of each case in order to extricate the meaning. The example of the Mtugga can be cited symmetrically to that of the Idaw T'anan. No leff-s among them either. But it this not because the course of Bwabbut' surpasses, by an adventure geographically, technically, and sentimentally superior, the mediocrity of the montagnard case? Among them, too, the system proper excludes external borrowing. The classificatory role of the leff-s is supplanted here by a broader obligation, as it was in Idaw T'anan /431/ by a shorter rhythm. It is therefore not impossible that the exception to the general bipartism that the Seksawa represent is moreover connected in their case to a certain specialty. Specialty of a history and of a tradition responsible for a very personal comportment.

Thus, when a group apparently forms an exception to the bipartism of the leff-s, it is perhaps because it is supported by a tension of another type, peculiar to it, and which may be different in each case. Such a viewpoint orients the research into the fruitful avenue of varieties of groups, so characteristic of the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. It also agrees with two traits of observation. First, that the dualism of the leff-s would be above all onomastic; than, that it may be replaced by classifications of another genre.

616 171 Considered from this angle, the theory of the leff-s is going to come out of the montagnard and Berbère /Berber/ isolation where it was cantoned in spite of evident and embarrassing applications that have turned up here and there in Arab countries, in the Sahara

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121 the interpretation of the group by itself. It is in this that the Chleuhs /Shluh/ are most opposed to the other Berbèrophones of 184 North Africa, Mozabites excepted. Internal cohesion, triumphing over disparities or utilizing them, thoughtful evolution, tactic with regard to the outside and reform from within: that places their system upon an entirely different level of personality than those of the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ or of Kabylia (1).

> 1. And that provides us with a principle of classification of the various systems more sure, we believe, than the one that the late Marcy drew from a criterion of decreasing "primitivité."

I come now to an even more striking characteristic: the prodigious variety of the societies of the Atlas and of the Sous. [197] The speech changes from valley to valley, and not only the speech, but the words, each independently of the others. What is true of the language is true of the law, rites, folklore. From canton to canton the style of life, spirit, even the physiognomies change. As the space grows smaller, the nuance becomes aggravated. The exiguity of the groups, the minutiae of local subdivisions are compensated by the density of characters. This density acts upon the landscape itself. The ground is divided into quarters, just as the group is into ikhs-s. Techniques of work and toponymy conspire in extraordinary accords with a humanity of sampling. This is indeed far [171] from the alleged undifferentiation, from the so-called "mechanical" juxtaposition between similar social segments that some have found in Kabylia (2).

> 2. R. Maunier, Essais sur les groupements sociaux /Essays on the social groupings/, 1929, p. 24. Mélanges de sociologie nord-africaine /Miscellaneous works on North African sociology/, 1930, pp. 64 sq. This part of the analyses by R. Maunier is very schematic.

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184 Among the Chleuhs /Shluh/ such segmentation implies the existence of vast areas. Linguistic or juridical facts, varying endlessly, belie in many respects the homogeneity of the country and ways of life. Sometimes they oppose it. At the very least they do not reflect it.

Many of these characteristics hence give the impression of the /449/ constructed and even of the factitious, of the desired and even of the exaggerated. The rural order with three terms that is found in the upper valleys clashes with so many other aspects of disorder or of evasion, of decline of the constraints of the group, that it is tempting to see there an issue, a precarious and threatened result, rather than an original legacy. The dispersion of this society in a body, and even more so in autonomous acts, reveals the work that it performs on itself rather than one knows not what congenital status. Diversification rather than diversity. Cantonal variety, social complexity, agrarian order would be only the three faces of the same historical effort (1).

1. The debate between ethnology and history has been enriched, in the course of recent years, by the studies of L. Febvre, "Vers une autre histoire /Toward another history/," R. de métaphysique et de morale, 1949, p. 226, on the different historicity of the various civilizations; ibid., G. Davy, "L'explication sociologique et le retour à l'histoire /Sociological explanation and the return to history/"; ibid., Cl. Lévi-Strauss, "Histoire et ethnologie /History and ethnology/," especially pp. 369, 373.

If it is so, would not the dualist structures that one observes in several parts of the Haut-Atlas, of the Anti-Atlas, and of the Sous arise from the same law? In them the content is hidden; it is the sign that counts; their mode of classification is interchangeable with others: it is necessary to consider above all in them the function. Now this function may be assumed diversely, whether it be

/449 cont./

184 a question of political or spiritual, territorial or moral groupings, charged with concrete substance or fictive values. The ones and the others are only means. All strive to maintain, in the bosom of the ensemble, the tension that is life, the variety that is solidarity. In fact, this world remains one. Its cantonal morcellation is not dispersion. Recourse to a plurality of collective types, fashioned by the joust, war, ritual qualifications, has assisted rather than ruined the survival of an ensemble. This ensemble, if one may say so, divides in order not to be broken up. The explanation is that the dualism of leff-s intervenes above all where there does not act, or no longer acts, any other mechanism of differentiation. I mean to say of cohesion. It is that wherever this culture remains deep-rooted, forces of dissimilation struggle against the forces of bursting or of uniformity.

This does not happen without waste. The consumption of energy and ingenuity in such a system is formidable. Here is the negative side of these organisms with solid virtues. Many of these evolutions go beyond the goals. The invention of forms is such that it ends in sterility. The disproportion between the social and the economic makes the machine turn in a void. The conquests or the re-establishments of the communal consciousness have been up to here those of archaism. Balanced between imitation and the denial of others, /450/ impulsive revolt and feint, this genius ends by clinging to its evasions. No more than its magnificent democracies withstand extension beyond the col, its souls do not escape the terror that their own mysteries cause them. Therefore, in order to grow, the individual must escape. With respect to the natal group, he will then remain divided between hatred and nostalgia. Conformist or inconoclast: he will be so simultaneously or in turn. It is that the mechanism of the parties, of the factions, of the groups, all this dialectic of qualifications, of names and of signs, end by suffocating their man. The "optimum de diversité" /optimum of diversity/ (1)

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1. I am borrowing this expression from Cl. Lévi-Strauss, Race et histoire /Race and history/, 1952, p. 9.

/450 cont./

184 is madly surpassed. This learned variety of leagues of cantons, of quarters, is in short only a perverted division of labor.

181 177 Excess and precariousness are not free from connections with the events that have folded Chleuh /Shluh/ culture back into its mountain caisson of the Moroccan Southwest. This geographical suppression, a secular defensive have no doubt determined the work of this society upon itself. But to what extent was this to liberate in it the development of its own values or merely to exaggerate a general evolution? The answer depends on the manner in which one considers the country in relation to the rest of North Africa. Of that it is indeed an integral part. To limit ourselves to two extremes, we believe there is sociological continuity between Fès /Fez/ and the Seksawa. One could even say that the cantons of the Haut-Atlas offer the most authentic expression of Maghrebi society, owing to the persistence of the cadre, and the most animated, owing to their hyperbolic genius. But history could have acted differently on the part and on the whole.

Does not the deviated richness of the Chleuh /Shluh/ world arise from a general phenomenon? From the middle of the fourteenth century, peasant life collapsed on the Mediterranean periphery. The fifteenth century was par-excellence in Europe a period of epidemics, devastation, depopulation (2). On this side of the ocean a classical tradition imputes to the Hilalians the responsibility for the same sort of adversity. However that may be, the two shores are once again dissociated. The former takes an economic and technical flight that the latter will not know for a long time. The Seksawa, these refractory ones, in vain isolated themselves, shrank in upon themselves, they, along with the other Chleuhs /Shluh/, were nonetheless carried along with the destinies of the South shore. But perhaps their personality asserted itslef even more against /451/ that which in general

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2. F. Braudel kindly pointed out to me in this connection the studies of Lütge and of Wilhelm Abel.

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133 more than 3,000 meters of altitude with their mules, difficult
491 roads that, in addition, are enlivened by the passage of the
[492] women, children, and flocks.

The transhumance of the sheep and goats, the exchange of
[233] the walnuts, wool, and almonds of the high valleys for the
[438] grain, tea, sugar, and manufactured objects from the souks
/sooks/ of the Dir maintain the continuity of these relations.
The activity observed on these crests during the days of spring
and summer is enough to make one understand the importance
of the bonds that unite plain and mountain.

In vain does the internal partitioning of the valleys, which
the successive tiers of the Atlas cut up into separate basins and
seal up by gorges, isolate the villages one from another. In
*[634] spite of the reciprocal hostility of the Berbère /Berber/ cantons
[578] on the same route of passage, one sees alliances established at
[437] great distances, from the North to the South, in the direction
followed by the transverse routes of the mountains. The small
states of the summits are associated with the villages of the last
slopes or of the plain in the same way.

On the other hand, relations are difficult between villages
361 established at the same altitude in the parallel valleys, and only
628 goat paths permit passing from one to the other; besides, since
[487] economic exchanges between the neighboring populations who
[438] live under identical conditions are of no interest, one understands
that the political horizon of the small mountain states, so extended toward the North or toward the South, in the direction of
the plain of Marrakech or the interior plain of the Sous, is, on
the other hand, toward the East or toward the West limited for
each of them to the closest villages.

491 VIII. The mountain massifs. -- The role of these great
routes of passage that cross the two chains is not only /17/ to
facilitate the moving of people and economic activity. They
[184] cut the Atlas and Anti-Atlas into separate massifs, inside which
the material and social life of the tribes takes on peculiar forms,
which give each of them a true originality and explain the

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491 distinct part that their inhabitants took in the great historic
184 events of the Moroccan South.

491 Actually, it is on the road of the passes that the passage of
178 tribes and the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/ have had the
result, for centuries, of destroying the local institutions and of
making these natural routes, from a political point of view, a
sort of extension of the plain into the middle of the mountains.
[643] The Sultan has his harkas advance upon this line of stopping
places, marked out by casbahs, when he wishes to intervene in
[619] the life of the country; leaders who serve the cause of the Em-
pire are born and grow up there, while in solitude, in their in-
accessible valleys, the independent tribes, on the other hand,
unite in order to see to the defense of their borders.

619 Such is the group formed by the tribes of the Glawa, Ourika,
491 Ghighaya, and Ouzgita of the Haut-Tifnout in the difficult re-
131 gion bounded on the east by the Tizi n Fedghat and on the west
by the Tizi n Test. A broad massif, whose summits reach
133 4,300 meters in altitude at the Wanoukrim and at the Likoumt,
dominates all this part of the mountains; it contains the glacial
lake of Ifni, and the snows of its plateaus give birth to torrents
everywhere. On the two versants narrow and encased valleys
break away, in which a man is as though crushed by a too-pow-
erful Nature. Nowhere in the Atlas does one experience so
133 strong an impression of isolation as in the villages of the Ourika
361 or of the Haut-Tifnout, lost under the giant walnut trees bathed
619 by the cold waters from the summits. The presence of the Telwet
491 pass alone gives some life to this harsh country, situated apart
from the great historic currents, and one understands that its in-
648 habitants, once subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, had no role
other than to give their support to foreign leaders, masters of the
Haut-Dra or of the plain of Marrakech, or they put their stubborn
energy at the service of the masters of the great pass, called by
their ambitions to faraway enterprises in the steppes of the south.

491 Between the road that leads from the Nefis to the Tizi n Test
133 and the one that leads from Imi n Tanout to the Tizi Ma^{c}cho
there extends another region whose appearance is less harsh and
less wild.

/24/

Chapter II

000
The Population of the Moroccan South

I. The ancient peopling of the Sous (up to the eleventh century). -- II. The ethnic struggles of the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. -- III. The domination and the decline of the Arabs. -- IV. The interior displacements. -- V. Consequences of the settlement on the soil for the cohesion of the social groups. -- VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, hamlets). -- VII. The house. -- VIII. The family. -- IX. The social classes. -- X. The economic life. -- XI. The religious life. -- XII. The intellectual life.

101 Isolated from the sea by the bar /Fr. barre, bar, bore, helm/, limited by the chains of mountains, inside which nature has provided men with inaccessible refuges, the Sous may appear at first sight to the eyes of a foreign observer as a region separated from the rest of Morocco, the habitat of a single human group of the same origin, which subsisted while keeping intact, within inviolate frontiers, its customs and its laws. The existence of an ethnic type with fairly well defined characteristics could, in ignorance of the history, maintain this illusion.
101 It happens, on the contrary, that the relative uniformity that
•184 characterizes human life in the south of Morocco results from the
619 intimate mixture of families and tribes of diverse origin, from the repeated confrontation of invaders and autochthons, from the opposition of the sedentary peoples of the plains and mountains to the nomads coming from the desert by way of the western Anti-Atlas, the route of the oases of the Dra and of the Zagmouzen or the coastal route of the Haha.

128 The successive phases of the peopling of the Sous thus form
127 the hidden web of history. We shall try to point them out here,
*175 by interpreting the often obscure and incomplete documents that have reached us; then we shall try to describe the most general aspects of the existence of men in a land that has /unpaginated map appears here/ /25/ ended up by acquiring, after long internal struggles, a unity of language, beliefs, and culture.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 34]

/39 cont./

361 632 political units opposed to one another (1).

1. The character of the internal divisions of these small units is nowhere more apparent than at Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, where a dozen hamlets forming four different political groups are juxtaposed in the center of an olive grove.

361 The Berbère /Berber/ villages are not all alike.

184 When one leaves the plains to go into the mountains, one sees first of all the villages of the Dir following one another on the first slopes, then the small hamlets of the valleys and sometimes, still higher, several big villages of the summits.

361 712 184 On the Dir, the human groupings often take on a defensive aspect. The houses press against the flank of the mountain, while the crops stretch out on the plain. When security permits, there exist at the same time a mountain village solidly constructed of stone and, in the middle of the irrigated crops and the "bour" /unirrigated lands/, some hastily built "ᶜazib," where the flocks and field workers take shelter. If the Makhzen /makhzan/ makes peace reign in the country, these light constructions of the plain soon become true villages in their turn (2).

2. The double establishment on plain and mountain of the Dir tribes can be observed especially among the Gedmiwa, Dwiran, and Mzouda. Mountain villages and plains azibs often hear the same name. The tribe's territory in the Atlas is thus completed by a broad cultivated expanse in the Azaghar. [578] [619] The internal fractionizing and the political divisions of the tribe that exist in the mountains are found as if projected in the plain, and the same struggles are carried on there between the same parties. When insecurity appears and

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/footnote 2 continued/ is prolonged, most often following war with the Arab tribes of the vicinity, each one returns to his mountain house, within which he always carefully stores his provisions.

The same arrangement of associated villages of mountain and plain exists on the Dir of the north of the Anti-Atlas, among the Chtouka.

In the narrow valleys of the Atlas the poorness of the soil, the exiguity of the fields laid out in little terraces cannot suffice to support a numerous population. People then scatter in small hamlets of ten to twenty hearths, which are strung along the torrents, separated by a distance of two or three kilometers and sometimes more. These groupings of houses are customarily tiered on the valley slopes. Their site is not always /40/ an emplacement favorable for defense, because in a country where the difficulties of access are so great, one does not have to fear attack by strangers and the only peril comes from internal struggles. Also, the exposure of the houses to the sun, the proximity of the crops, the necessities of sheltering the flocks, of storage of grain, of the use of threshing floors are, for the founding of the hamlets, circumstances that prevail over the concern for security. Only the leaders, in order to defend themselves from their subjects more often than from their enemies, are preoccupied with building enclosures and high towers.

By contrast, in the regions of easy access, on the mountainous plateaus of the Anti-Atlas or in the land of the Haha, the hamlets must watch over their own security. They surround themselves with thick hedges of jujube trees and protect themselves with watchtowers or defense posts. When the houses, in groups of two or three, rise up on the summit of the hills, they become veritable little fortresses with thick walls, with narrow loopholes, and the families who live in them, linked by bonds of blood, can assist one another and endure a long siege.

/40 cont./

361 712 •184 [343] At other times too, in the richer regions -- at the bottom of the more fertile basins that appear here and there in the Anti-Atlas -- groups of hamlets are established around the collective storehouses, inside which each home keeps its provisions. The very mass of the houses then forms, around these granaries, a natural defense.

Finally, near the summits, the big villages, almost unknown on the slopes of the Atlas, reappear at the head of ravines in the vicinity of plateaus favorable for the life of the flocks. Such are, for example, Tassa of the Aït Haddiyous, and Tasgint of the Ida ou Mahmoud, near the Tichka, or Amasin of the Ikhozamen, near the peaks of the Sirwa. These agglomeration of one to two hundred hearths, often dominated by large storehouses with the look of fortresses, are moreover in reality only winter villages situated at more than 2,000 meters in altitude. Everyone comes [243] to take shelter there when the first snows fall; but during the fine season the inhabitants scatter in groups of a few families in the midst of the pastures of the summits and here and there cultivate poor fields of rye and barley around enclosures of dry stone that serve them as houses.

/41/ Most of these Berbère agglomerations -- small cities with village-like appearance, valley hamlets, winter villages of the summits -- present a common double characteristic. They are almost always established near streams, because human life in the south of Morocco is closely bound up with the utilization of springs and séguias. They only exceptionally occupy natural defensive emplacements on the summit of peaks in the manner of the villages of the Kabylia of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/.

621 592 If one observes attentively the exterior aspect of these various groupings, small towns or villages, one perceives the importance that the hamlet inhabited by a patriarchal group of ten to twenty hearths nearly always assumes. Every detached house tends to develop, if the family that occupies it succeeds in prospering, so as to form, by the juxtaposition of separate chambers constructed by the sons and relatives by marriage, an association strong enough to ensure its own defense and exploit its lands in

/41 cont./

621 security. Likewise, a big village is only the union of several
592 hamlets. Each of them belongs to a separate family group, and
it often suffices, in order to know the number of these small elementary social units that constitute a little Berbère republic, to count on the spot the number of separate quarters (1).

361 1. In the vicinity of the desert in the oases of the
712 Noun /Nun/ and the Bani, in the middle Dra and
the Dadès, it is common to observe the existence of large qsars /fortified places/, whose houses draw nearer and mutually protect one another. Often, even, the village is surrounded by a ram-
[162] part; here the proximity of the nomads, the division of the population into haraten /Haratin/ agriculturalists and Arab or Berbère /Berber/ pastoralists -- who often play the role of protectors -- modify considerably the conditions of existence that we have observed in the interior of the province of the Sous.

361 The urban character of the construction of the
712 qsars has often been noted. It even seems that there
exist in the Dra and the Dadès a particular architec-
341 tural tradition and a technique more skillful and per-
•184 fected than in all the Moroccan South. It is doubt-
342 less to the artistic influence of the Dra that is owed the beautiful "tighremt" /fortified houses/ found at Telwet and among the Imeghran.

The most famous builders of these "tighremt" as well as of the lordly casbahs of the Atlas come from the tribe of the Aït Bou Yahya, north of Tisint.

342 VII. The house. -- There does not exist, it is scarcely nec-
184 essary to say here, a "Berbère /Berber/ house" of uniform type, whose disposition might be contrasted to that of the "Arab house." The plan, the construction, the arrangement of the dwelling of the Sous agriculturalist differ according to whether it is detached

/41 cont./

342 or lost in a group, in the plains, on the Dir, or in the mountains, •184 in a region of difficult access or, on the contrary, on the course of a natural route /42/ of penetration. The social and political [642] state of the tribe also makes its influence felt by imposing a great simplicity on the exterior appearance in the regions where republican institutions exist, while in the country of temporal leaders a taste for decoration and ornamentation develops. Nevertheless, in order to simplify, one can be content with essential distinctions and contrast the plains house to that of the mountains.

On the plains, in the Sous valley, in the land of the Chtouka and Haha, a type of one-story house predominates, made up of chambers that open onto the interior of a square enclosure. Exterior protection is usually ensured by a wall of beaten earth [789] built with a rammer inside a wooden form (1); the lower part of the wall is often made of stone, for it gives a better foundation for the whole, and, moreover, the work of thieves who pierce the walls at night is rendered more difficult; in some regions the wall is replaced by a hedge of jujube-tree thorns that exceeds two meters in height, while one or two watchtowers constructed at angles permit keeping watch; at the corners of the wall old pots overturned and bovid skulls ward off the evil eye and chase bad influences far away.

[231] [414] The flocks are kept in the central courtyard, onto which open the various separate rooms of the house; in the middle of one side of the enclosure, a heavy door, closed by a wooden lock, flanked by wide masonry pillars, protects the entrance. This door opens into a low room used both as vestibule and storehouse. [592] When the sons are married, each room is occupied by a household.

1. Because of this construction process by means of a form made of boards (louh), the name of "louh" is often given to the wall itself.

184 /42 cont./
342 household. A little apart from the other rooms often rises a
[574] small, second-story chamber, the "tamesrit," where one receives guests, who have access to it from the outside.

The mountain houses are more modest. They are made of small, separate units to which one has access from the outside. They are constructed in stone, walled up with a little clay; their terraces are of earth and edged with heavy, flat stones.
[231] Each of them has a second story, raised so little that one stands up with difficulty; the goats and sheep live below; the upper part is reserved for provisions and the habitation of people. /43/ The entrance doors are light and fragile, for one need not fear foreign thieves. A large, square room, without stories, covered by a terrace, in the center of which is arranged a wide opening, serves as kitchen and gynaeceum. All around stretch the threshing floors bordered by dressed stones. To avoid the cold and humidity, only tiny windows are pierced in the walls; in the regions disturbed by war, these openings take on the look of loopholes, and care is taken to arrange them in such a way that the inhabitants could not be hit by a bullet fired from outside. Finally, on the terraces, galleries closed by lattices of branches of pink laurel permit living in the open air, sheltered from the nearly vertical rays of the sun.

[361] These poor houses of the high valleys, all alike, tiered on a slope, often resemble the cells of a wasp's nest.

621 Sad in the rain and snow, when the inhabitants shiver in the
511 vermin and the clouds linger on the flank of the mountains, these
512 little hamlets become lively in the sun. In the brightened sky
[354] the fumes rise through the gaping openings of the kitchens; the
men get together under the galleries to chat; the golden bunches
[521] of maize and the scarlet peppers dry on the terraces. The flocks
[251] leave the enclosures, guided by the children, while the women,
[233] who climb toward the forest in order to look for their heavy loads
[857] of dead wood, courageously forget their miserable existence and
[462] send out into the light the shrill note of their singing.

/46 cont./

43 Nevertheless, formerly, in the isolation of this region, a
182 balanced regime had been established here; at the cost of some
[166] privations, a population that remained retired within itself succeeded
[731] in providing for itself, especially in the mountains; it
did not have to call on the outside to increase its resources -- in
the form of temporary emigration of the able-bodied men -- except
at times of famine. Moreover, the profits which the
Chleuhs /Shluh/ know how to make from the trade that they
carry on in the towns even used to give certain tribes -- /47/ the
Aït ʿAisi and the Aït Mzal, for example -- actual prosperity.

433 But this fragile economy was to be upset by the opening of
439 Morocco to European markets in the nineteenth century. So poor
a country was indeed tempted to improve its difficult conditions
182 of existence by importing foodstuffs, clothing, and manufactured
177 objects; but at the same time its purchases were contributing
[631] toward exhausting it. Moreover, since the establishment of the
power of the great chiefs and kaids over the independent communities
had the consequence of imposing heavy burdens on the
tribes, the economic ruin of the Sous was to be brought about in
two generations of people.

433 In truth, the various parts of the country found themselves
•184 unequally affected by this transformation, according to their
182 initial state of poverty, the way of life of their inhabitants, and
177 their degree of penetration by the modern economy.

In the mountainous regions, at least where the political evolution
511 has not noticeably altered the primitive conditions of the
556 people, there are neither true poor nor true rich. Each Berbère
[184] /Berber/ possesses a small flock of sheep and goats, and in the
bottom of the valley some cultivated terraces, big walnut trees
[422] irrigated by the séguias, and almond trees on the flank of the
[423] mountain. Barley, rye, maize, turnips, long garlands of which
dry hung along the houses, suffice for daily subsistence. Goats
or sheep are sacrificed only on festival days or when a guest
511 comes by. Clothing does not require any great expense. That of
556 the women is made of a very long piece of brown wool with
291 which the body is adroitly draped and which is held above the

/47 cont./

511 breasts by clasps of silver, bronze, or thorn. The men envelop
556 themselves in a shorter piece of wool, unless they wear -- in our
291 day this is the most frequent case -- a long shirt and breeches of
cotton goods. A full black cloak, "akhnif," provided with a
hood and decorated on the back with a curious red motif, completes the costume of the montagnard.

32 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is almost entirely devoid of
184 local industries; by contrast, in the Anti-Atlas and the Sirwa
there are several centers of activity, whose origin and traditions
are still little known and would doubtless merit being studied.
325 Artisans /48/ there know how to smelt the iron and copper ores
326 that are found in metallic deposits of minor importance and
184 whose presence has been enough to perpetuate the reputation of
mineral wealth of the South. Master workmen, nearly all descendants of black slaves, manufacture guns and daggers inlaid
[306] with silver. Others, Jews or Mussulmans, preserve the tradition
of jewelry work of bronze, silver, and gold. There is not any
[178] doubt, to be sure, that these small industrial centers have already
been hit by decline.

439 For twenty years the development of commerce in the whole
177 of the Empire and the influx of commodities and manufactured
goods from the Occident have been making their effects felt as
far as the depths of the high valleys. To buy these novelties, the
[432] montagnard sells in the souks /sooks/ of the Dir his harvests of
walnuts and almonds and part of his flock, and he sends his sons
[464] to work in the towns of the Gharb /Rharb/, to Algeria, and to
France.

556 In the plains the distance between rich and poor increases
184 still more rapidly. The former own the gardens; the others cultivate them. Irrigated fields give cereals, vegetables, and fruits
511 in abundance. Olive and argan oil constitute another kind of
wealth, which is transported in goatskins as far as the towns of
the North. The greater proximity of the markets facilitates the
introduction of foreign products in such a way that the material
existence of a notable of the Sous plain tends to become similar
to that of the other provinces where the Makhzen /makhzan/ has

/48 cont./
556 always reigned. But at the same time the life of the workers in
184 the gardens, the "khemmas," is more and more miserable. Only
511 a temporary emigration to the towns of Morocco, to France, or
[167] to Algeria enables the adult men to earn, by hard work, the
[464] money necessary for the subsistence of their families remaining
in the country.

779 XI. The religious life. -- The Sous is -- the rest of its history will make us understand by what circumstances -- profoundly subject to Islamic religious influences. The millenary work
[346] of the reformers, leaders of brotherhoods, and holy personages
whose whitewashed domes so often strike the traveler's eye in this
country has been crowned with success, and one would look in
vain as far as the farthest valleys for a hamlet without a mosque.

795 /49/ The major religious duties, prayer, fasting, alms, are
observed with care. Even the pilgrimage is frequently performed
[788] by the notables, merchants, and well-to-do men, especially in
[554] the tribes of the plains and mountains of the South, among whom
[184] an ardent attachment for religion persists up to the present, ac-
[798] companied besides by hate and scorn for the Christian.

But whatever may be the attachment of the Sous Berbères
/Berbers/ to Islam, they nevertheless like to express it within the
narrow boundaries of their little states. They reserve for their
[554] marabouts, scholars, and talebs /public scribes/ the gain from
their tithes.

779 As in all the rest of North Africa the cult of the saints mani-
776 fests itself here in its familiar aspects so often described. One
[171] can even observe that the veneration of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ for
their marabouts can be modeled on the various forms of their
[792] social organization. We shall soon see the importance of these
*[631] small superimposed states, which are the fraction, similar to a
[619] canton, the tribe, whose territory embraces several valleys, the
confederation, which sometimes extends over a whole versant of
the mountain. Now it may be said that each of these groups pos-
776 sesses its patron saints. For example, the most venerated sanc-
778 tuaries, those of Moulay Brahim of the Kik, Lalla ᶜAziza of the
619

/131 cont./
*631 /makhzan/ or the great chiefs, would merit being compared with
619 the one that we discovered first of all in the footsteps of our first
guides loyal to the kaids.

*631 Here, in fact, the villages that are tiered on the sunny
*634 slopes of the torrents, near immense walnut trees irrigated by
619 the gushing waters of the Atlas, do not know houses of sheiks or
caliphates. In these valleys one would try in vain to distinguish
[361] the dwelling of the poor man from that of the rich. Each of
[342] these little mountain cantons forms a separate state that a council
administers. Gathered on a terrace, all clothed in brown wool,
the notables gravely debate among themselves, for /132/ long
hours, the interests of their villages; no one raises his voice, and,
seeing them, one would not be able to discover their president, a
timid old man who has been given for one year the mission of carrying
out their decisions and who is greeted by the title of "moqaddem"
[671] /mokaddam/. Their judgments are inspired by a custom
that they hold from their ancestors without modifying it; they
punish crimes, stop disputes, impose the most severe penalties on
thieves. Their concern is gladly directed toward the protection
of the crops and pastures. In every circumstance they watch
jealously to see that the interests of the patriarchal families,
whose heads they are, are precisely respected. Then, their deliberation
ended, after a prayer recited together, they separate
and go to supervise a corvée from a distance.

462 The humble tableaux of the life in these villages in the high
mountains show us that the existence of the independent Berbères
184 /Berbers/ of the summits does not differ from that of their
517 brothers of the Rif or of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. Here all the
[171] women are assembled in order to do the transporting of the manure
together. Adorned with their festive apparel, rich and poor,
[482] young and old place on their heads large doum baskets filled with
the village manure and descend, singing, in order to take the
fertilizer to all the little fields that border the torrent. Another
[653] day all the men assemble, under the direction of the notables, in
221 order to repair the séguias or the souk /sook/ roads. Then, at the
233 end of spring, in all these small anarchical and happy republics,

/137 cont./

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The authority of the more or less independent "amghars" appeared to him then to be predominant, but without going so far as to suppress the existence of the assemblies, for the chiefs' authority must be used lightly in order to exist. "Tribes, districts, villages," he tells us, "live, some under a despotic regime, others under a democratic regime. The first are governed by families in which supreme power with the title of sheik is hereditary: such are the Aït Amer, the Zenaga, the Mezgita. The authority of these sheiks is not burdensome for their subjects; more or less close relatives of a large number of them, it is necessary for them to treat these /138/ natural allies tactfully. Besides, it is to their interest not to offend anyone; they allow those under their jurisdiction great freedom and ask of them only three things: to pay a trifling tax, to follow them when they wage war, not to fight, pillage, or steal too much among themselves; this is permitted only with strangers. As for the rest, complete license" ... Such is what de Foucauld calls the "despotic regime." "As for the democratic regime, the tribes or districts that have adopted it possess it with the most diverse nuances. Among some, [184] such as the Ilalen, the Iberqaqen, the system established in the North prevails; fractions, tribes, villages are governed by the assembly of all their members. Elsewhere, as in the qsars of Tisint, of Tatta, the assembly keeps sovereign power in its hands and entrusts the executive power to a sheik whom it elects; sometimes it ceaselessly carries it from the one to the other. Certain tribes, such as the Ida Ou Blal, the Aït Ou Mribet, the Isaffen, are divided into fractions, each having at its head a family in which the dignity of sheik is hereditary. Sometimes the power of these chiefs is quite great, as among the Aït Ou Mribet and Isaffen; sometimes, as among the Ida Ou Blal, their only prerogative is to lead their brothers in combat" (1).

1. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, pp. 91-92.

/152 cont./

*634 III. The "taqbilt," fraction or canton. -- Several "mouda^{c},"
•[184] most often four or five on the north versant of the Atlas, three on
the south versant, unite in order to participate equally in the
common duties of a little state for which the Berbères /Berbers/
in the region of the Tichka reserve more specially the name of
"taqbilt."

The jem^{c}a of the "taqbilt" formed by all the heads of all the ancient families of the various "mouda^{c}" is really the most lively and the most active political organism, which attests best to the vigor of the local institutions; administrative, legislative, executive powers are mingled in its bosom. It watches over the interests of the community and particularly ensures the defense and the inviolability of the borders.

We shall not examine here the institutions of the "taqbilt" and the role of its council; for the moment we shall only try to define the morphological characteristics of this social group, whose importance will appear incessantly greater in the course of this study.

It is above all the geographical unity of the territory, the feeling that it constitutes the community's own property, whatever
may be the /153/ sudden changes in successful wars or defeats,
that give the "taqbilt" its personality and govern its external ac-
*634 tivity. Certainly it happens that as a result of struggles with
166 neighboring fractions a hamlet situated on the border of a weak
state detaches itself in order to go to seek the protection of an-
609 other energetic "taqbilt" capable of supporting its "brothers." At
other times one also sees a small colony of strangers, driven from their own territory as a result of reverses undergone in the struggle of family groups, settle in part of the country for a time. When these foreigners are numerous and their hosts are not in a position to absorb them, the emigrants' village renews relations little by little with its country of origin; soon it constitutes an irreducible islet within the "taqbilt" that accepted it and later gives rise to an autonomous "taqbilt." But these doings are exceptional in the high mountains; most of the territories of these small elementary

/154 cont./
*634 the vicinity or even from the Azaghar of Marrakech, from the
166 valley of the Sous, from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. A little
more to the West, the territory of the Ida ou Tanan is no better
closed to foreigners (1).

[113] 1. On the rapid renewal of the population within the "taqbilt," cf. our monographs on Massat (*Hespéris*, 1924, p. 378), on the Aghbar (*Hespéris*, 1927, p. 9), on the Ida ou Tanan (*Revue des Études islamiques*, 1927, p. 225).

The constant renewal of the population is the consequence of famines, sicknesses, exiles, and banishments; new arrivals join the mass of those who have preceded them and who are already established within the precise limits of the "taqbilt." But in this perpetual renewal of the individual elements that constitute the social group, the form of the small state, its frontiers and its structure remain unchanged.

*634 IV.. *The existence of the "taqbilt" or cantons is general
•184 throughout the Sous.* -- In the region of the Tichka, many "taq-
bilt" are independent; such are the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Ida Ou
[619] Msattog. Others group together to form tribes, like the Ida Ou
Mhamoud, the Seksawa, the Demsira, all while keeping their full
freedom; it is the same in the part of the territory of the Gedmiwa
remaining unsubjugated, on the north versant of the Igdad. The
[131] boundaries of former cantons are still very apparent in the whole
valley of the Nefis and of the Asif el Mal in the mountains. In all
*634 of the country confined between the Nefis and the Bibaoun road,
184 local investigations would permit easily finding again the recollec-
174 tion of a very large number of identical units -- 120 /155/ ap-
178 proximately (1)

1. This state of division appears to be very ancient in the region that we have just studied.

/155 cont./

*634 •184 174 178 [113] /Footnote 1 continued./ The chronicler El Beidaq (Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, E. Lévi-Provençal trans., p. 63 and sqq.) shows us, at the beginning of the twelfth century, the Gedmiwa divided into 46 fractions, whose names can be partially identified. The same confederation in our day contains about 30 units. Likewise, the group of the Genfisa, then divided into 22 fractions, has undergone modifications of only little importance; most of the tribes that constituted it are easily found again among the present-day tribes of the Tichka and in our day are still simple independent "fractions": the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Aït Waggonsan, for example.

-- and each of them had kept its independence or its autonomy up to the middle of the last century.

*631 619 174 178 More to the west, the three confederated tribes that form the Ida Ou Tanan were originally, probably in the sixteenth century, each made up of ten elementary units; they have varied little since then, and if the strong political organization of this group takes away from its constituent elements part of their activity, the limits of each of them, to which is given the name of "afous," nevertheless remain very precise.

*631 619 *[634] [174] [131] [162] [184] The confederation of the Haha itself, made up of 12 tribes, has preserved, especially in the region least transformed by the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/, small internal divisions in which we do not doubt finding traces of former "taqbilt." Each tribe is actually divided into fifths, "khoms," which have a territory of about 50 square kilometers and a total population of 500 to 600 hearths grouped into several "jema^{c}a." In truth, in the north

/155 cont./

*631 619 •184 [113] of the same country, as Doutté observed as early as 1904 (2), the "khoms" is only an administrative division that one might believe at first sight had been established by the Makhzen /makhzan/ for the sole purpose of collecting contributions; in the south of the confederation, on the contrary, where the ancient institutions have not yet entirely disappeared, the "khoms," which also takes the name of "afous," has preserved a life of its own, which has been manifest until these last years. Among the Aït ᶜAissi, the Ida Ou Bouzia, the Aït ᶜAmer, in fact, the council of notables of the "khoms" has kept some importance up to the present, and in the course of the "siba" /revolt/ at the end of the century it still constituted the little parliament of a minuscule autonomous state, similar to the ones that exist around the Tichka.

*631 *634 619 184 One would observe without difficulty in the territory of the Aït Waouzgit, in the high valley of the Sous and around the massif of the Sirwa, as well as on the plateau of the Isouktan, the same state of cellular division. /156/ It is all the more marked in this region that the cantons hardly unite to form tribes and that each of them had preserved complete political liberty with respect to its neighbors up to the time of the defeat of the Glawa between 1913 and 1917.

The group of the tribes of the Anti-Atlas likewise offers us an organization identical with that of the mountains of the Masmouda.

*634 184 In the country of the Chtouka, first of all, one finds in the plain or on the first slopes of the mountains some 20 dispersed cantons without any bond among them other than that of a very confused historical unity, and such as the memory of a common role in the struggle against the Igezzoulen. Each of them groups

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2. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, renseignements coloniaux /Colonial Information/, 1905.

/156 cont./
*634 several hundred hearths gathered together in circular villages de-
184 fended by thorn hedges. Each canton has its own life; its sheik
subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ is the successor to the minor
amghar of old, formerly independent, who relied on the assem-
bly of family heads. A little higher in the mountains, a few can-
[619] tons that form the tribe of the Aït Wadrim on the banks of the
Asif n Saghour obey a single chief, but each of them has kept its
little council of notables, a senate of six to ten members, which
deliberates as in a "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ about
everything that touches local interests. Nearer the summits the
penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is still less advanced and
[619] the autonomy of the small states more obvious. At the foot of
the Jbel Kest each small tribe, whose dimensions are the same as
those that surround the summit of the Tichka in the country of
the Seksawa, remains independent: Imediyoun, Tiwazwin, Aït
Wignan, Aït Waliad thus have their separate and different consti-
tutions. In each state, according to the local customs, four, five,
twelve "inflas" decide war and peace or administer "agadirs"
similar to the ones that the autonomous republics of the Sirwa
[133] have. The Aït Swab in the vicinity know this same state of di-
vision in their country bristling with peaks and hollowed out by
canyons, while the little isolated social units of the south versant
of the same massif, Agsel, Indrifen, Tafraout, Anmalouz, seem
to be the exact replica of the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Ida ou
Msattog, which we found lost in the high valleys of the Atlas on
the slopes of the Tichka, which dominate the valley of the Sous.

*634 V. Constant dimensions of the territory of the "taqbilt" or
184 canton. /157/ -- What is most striking when one compares in this
way in all the South of Morocco these federations of villages to
131 which we give the name of cantons is the equal size of their terri-
tory in the various regions of the Sous. Sometimes, especially
when the canton is made up of only a single "moudaf," in the
most secluded valleys of the high mountains, the soil of the little
state occupies scarcely the bottom of a valley and the immediate-
ly adjacent slopes; but most often its area is between 20 and 50

*634 /157 cont./
•184 square kilometers, and whatever the numerical strength of the
population may be, it does not exceed these dimensions.
131 It cannot suffice, in order to explain this fractioning into
visibly equal units, to invoke the geographic arrangement of the
places; as a matter of fact, it is observed in a land divided into
regular compartments, as in the high valleys of the Tichka and
of the Igdad, as well as in a region of plateaus, for example, to
the west of the Sirwa, in the Azilal, or the south of the Haha, or
the land of the Ilalen; likewise it exists in the big valleys, such
as those of the Nefis or of the Tifnout. The precise reason for
this surprising constancy of the dimensions of the "taqbilt" seems
to us to have to be sought in the no less invariable nature of its
institutions.

*634 In most of the republics whose territory has remained inde-
[174] pendent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ there exist, or there were not
long ago, little senates charged with administering the country;
numerous indications show us that it was formerly the same in the
Berbère /Berber/ regions now submissive. Now, the assembly of
[613] notables, heads of the "ikhs" who people each of the hamlets and
who meet whenever the interests of the group are at stake, must
be able at any instant to answer the call of its president. Whether
*634 a disturbance breaks out on the border of the territory with a little
721 nearby state over a violation of the pasturage, or a private war is
suddenly ignited in the villages, which threatens the harmony
among the brothers of the "taqbilt," so that one might fear an
attack on the country by outside enemies by means of this disorder,
it is immediately necessary to make all the decisions required in
view of the combat or of the pacification. The dimensions of the
[131] canton that administers itself are then doubtless determined solely
by the maximum distance that allows the notables to meet easily
in one day in order to deliberate together.

*634 If this is the case, so that a functional law determines /158/
131 the maximum dimensions of the elementary Berbère state that the
728 canton is, one easily understands that too numerous a "taqbilt,"
led little by little to go beyond its primitive limits in order to
ensure the subsistence of its families, might be constrained to cut

/158 cont./

*634 itself into two parts as soon as it has conquered or absorbed the
131 neighboring territories and extended its frontiers. This division,
728 which makes one think of the simplest mode of reproduction of
the lower beings of the organic world, doubtless then appears
spontaneously, at the risk of internal discord. The history of the
struggles of the small states of the high mountains would give us
numerous examples of such extensions followed by such divisions.

*634 Thus, when a particularly active and bellicose group succeeds in extending itself by degrees and tries to conquer a whole
131 valley, it splits internally. Such is the case of the Aït Haddiyous
728 in the land of the Seksawa. Local traditions represent this group
619 as formed originally by four fractions: the Aït Wasif, Ikourran,
[173] Aït Shaq, Aït Aougga; the first two would have disappeared, worn
out by war; the other two would have founded successively the
Aït Mousa, Aït Lhasen, Aït ^{c}Abdallah, then the Intedan, Awines,
Ibouban, Iwoulla, Wanzid, while the rallied foreign groups, the
Idma and Tassa, were giving rise to the Aït Mehand (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle (Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the command of the Mtougga).

One moreover easily perceives in this case, -- and it would
be easy to cite others throughout the Atlas --, the importance
within the canton of the life of each of the smaller social groups,
such as the village and the "mouda^{c}"; their numerical growth,
the valor of their warriors have as a consequence an extension
of the frontiers of the common territory to the detriment of the
weakest nearby states; thus the "taqbilt" extends itself little by
little and ends up by splitting into new fractions, without the
separation of the parts always taking place abruptly. The apparent inequalities of these cantons can sometimes thus be explained.
*634 In this region, certain "taqbilt" almost correspond by their di-
619 mensions to what we usually call tribes, like the Aït Haddiyous
or the Imedlaoun, which gather together 600 or more hearths.
• 184 Other "taqbilt" are fractions of average extent, like the Aït

/158 cont./
*634 Cha^{c}ib, the Aït Breher of the Demsira. There are some that
619 /159/ are still smaller, like the Aït Dris of the tribe of the Ida
•184 Ou Mhamoud, Wanzid of the Seksawa. Finally, the Aït Mehand of the Seksawa, Tagadirt n Baoun of the Demsira, by their dimensions are no more than "mouda^c," but their institutions already give them most of the characteristics of true "taqbilt" (1).

*631 1. By exception, in certain tribes of the
*634 Dir one finds territorial divisions smaller
619 than the taqbilt as we have described it
184 here. This is the case for the Aït Semmeg, divided into about 15 minuscule units whose territory scarcely exceeds that of a "mouda^c." Likewise the Mzouda are divided into ten "mia," each of which has only about 100 hearths. On the other hand, in certain regions peopled recently, such as the south of the Haha (tribes of the Aït ^{c}Aissi and of the Ida ou Bouzia), it happens that the tribe may be divided into several "khoms" whose villages are so entangled that it is no longer possible to trace their boundaries. Finally, an "afous" of the Ida Ou Tanan, the Id Mansour, has a territory divided into three parts separated from one another. These exceptions affect only an infinitesimal part of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, and we can with good reason ignore them in an over-all description of the social structure.

*634 Thanks to the limited extent of its territory and the concern
that its inhabitants manifest in defending the frontiers, the canton
*631 is a small state with great vitality. On the other hand, we shall
619 observe that the larger organisms -- the tribe and the confedera-
tion -- in the same region are much more difficult to define and

/159 cont./
*631 that the bond that unites their parts sometimes seems to escape
619 all investigation.

619 VI. The tribe: difficulty of defining its nature. -- A tribe
*[634] is a group of cantons -- whose number may vary between three
and twelve -- that possesses a definite territory, a name, some
[184] common traditions, and is at the same time devoid of any precise political institution, especially in the region of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, which has not been modified by the organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ command (2).

2. We have said that there does not generally exist in the high regions of the Atlas or of the Anti-Atlas any particular name to designate the tribe. One often uses the name of "taqbilt"; preferably it is designated by the name of the people who form it: "Iseksawen," "Ida Ou Mhamoud."

619 The unit of the tribe appears only in exceptional circum-
*634 stances, when the independence of the cantons is threatened by the Makhzen /makhzan/ and all the warriors assemble to defend the country. But most often the durable bond that unites the cantons -- a bond attested to by the historical persistence of the tribe's name -- is characterized solely by the existence of a confused feeling of brotherhood, whose nature and origin we do not succeed in seeing clearly.

619 One could, by invoking the example that we have just given
174 /160/ of the progressive development of the "taqbilt" of the Aït Haddiyous, regarded as the ancestors of the Seksawa, according to the traditions of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, try to regard the constituent parts of a tribe as the result of the growth of a single group, which at the same time would have been fragmented into small units in the course of time. This way of looking at it would, moreover, tolerably conform to the representations that the Berbères /Berbers/ themselves customarily make, and one would

/162 cont./

*634 two "leffs" in such a way that the two parts are very exactly bal-
616 anced. Thus the Aghbar is made up of four cantons opposed two
619 by two, the Ogdemt of five parts belonging alternately to one or
the other of the alliances. The Mzouda likewise have two groups of cantons distributed in a check pattern, between which are divided the ten "mouda^{c}" of the tribe; the Dwiran know an analogous arrangement. As paradoxical as it may appear, the distribution of the cantons into two adverse parts of the same strength then becomes a guarantee of the existence of the larger group that forms the tribe. Internal equilibrium, in spite of wars, is incessantly ensured; perhaps this balanced opposition is, moreover, still better than a central market or a venerated sanctuary, the permanent sign of unity.

619 This state of equilibrium is not peculiar to the western Haut-
616 Atlas /High Atlas/; it would be easy to find identical examples in
• 184 the Anti-Atlas and the Sous, although the equilibrium of the leffs
*634 may be less rigorous and the alliances do not extend to such great
distances. Thus in the plain we see the tribe of Massat made up of 15 villages, divided into three fractions in a small oasis of the Atlantic plain. For a century incessant battles were waged between the Ida ou Mout, settled in the center, and Aghbalou united with Tassenoult, at the two extremities of the territory. Each group used to deliberate apart in periods of anarchy, had its own allies on the outside, its compendium of customary law. The tribe of Massat, whose unity has so often been broken and restored, is /163/ made up of three autonomous political groups that balance their forces (1).

1. Cf. our study on Massat, Hespéris, 1924.

In the mountains, in the nearby region, the tribe of the Aït Mzal, 800 hearths strong, whose beautiful villages mark out the route of access that leads from the Saharan oases of Tamanart, Tizounin, and Aqqa to the interior plain of the Sous, is famous for the cleverness of its merchants, the size of its markets, the intelligence of its inhabitants. Apparently this is again a united

/163 cont./

619 group, subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, commanded by a
616 single sheik and endowed with a strong internal constitution. Ex-
•184 pert fractioning nevertheless permits distinguishing here four "khoms": Tinchouft, 1 Khoms n Ougadir, Tafraoutan, and
*634 Afella Wasif. Each of them is itself divided into three parts, which includes three or four villages of 20 hearths. The council of "inflas" is made up of 24 notables, six per fraction, two per third of a fraction. Formerly a great collective fortress, destroyed at the time of an expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ by Sa^{c}īd Gellouli, great kaid of the Haha, was the symbol of the unity of the Aīt Mzal. But as soon as one tries to penetrate into the life of the tribe by means of local history, one sees that it is above all made up of the struggle that its parts waged with one another before having been subjected to a single "amghar." The Aīt Oufella Wasif had their independence most often. As strong by themselves as the three inferior fractions together, they used to fight, with the help of the montagnards, their neighbors Ida Ou Ktir and Ida Ou Gnidif, against their brothers of the valley. Having constructed an agadir for their needs and constituted an autonomous little parliament as if their senate of six notables were insufficient for their political activity, they maintained in the tribe the state of division and of balanced opposition that seemed necessary for the life of the group.

Thus it is above all when the cantons that constitute the tribe can oppose one another in a lasting way in a territory of small size that this social group best becomes conscious of itself, whether to get to reconcile opposing interests submitted to the deliberations of a common assembly or to settle insoluble differences by war between two equal parties. By a strange paradox the tribes truly alive are the smallest and most exactly divided into parts of the same strength, /164/ within which war can be perpetuated without danger, such as, for example, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the tribes of the Dwiran or the Aghbar, in the plain of the Sous Massat or the Aīt Mzal in the Anti-Atlas. The more numerous groups of fractions, such as the Demsira and the Ilalen, are only aggregates of parts united solely by the same

/164 cont./

619 name, a certain uniformity of existence in an imprecise geo-
616 graphic cadre, and the vague feeling of a common role in an
•184 almost forgotten history.

*634 One might wonder whether the inorganic state in which we
find the tribes of the Moroccan South at present is primitive; it is
619 permissible to think that they had positive institutions in former
174 times, before being, as in our day, empty cadres within which
the cantons live as they like or wage war on one another, being careful only to respect a kind of equilibrium between the opposed forces. It would, in fact, be difficult to grant that such loose associations of small elementary states would have succeeded in existing indefinitely for centuries, if their members had not formerly felt united by a feeling of brotherhood much more intense than today. Blood ties, perhaps adoption rites, clearer memory of a common history, must have contributed to form these groups, which sedentary life, the organization of cantons, the mingling of families later contributed toward dissociating, without, however, succeeding in destroying them completely.

*631 VIII. Various categories of confederations. -- The nature of the confederations, made up of groups of tribes or fractions, is no easier to define than that of the tribes themselves.

These important groups may unite up to eight and ten thousand hearths, distributed over areas too large for the small states that form them always to have a very clear feeling of the unity of the common territory. It is easy to observe, moreover, that
[131] the boundaries of these higher organisms scarcely correspond to
natural frontiers, as among the Chtouka, settled both on plain and mountain, or in former times the Heskoura or Genfisa established in a rather indistinct manner on the two versants of the Atlas, so it is necessary to give up searching in the social group's bond with the soil for the explanation of these aggregates of elementary states.

*631 /165/ If one examines their structure, one can divide the
619 confederations into two classes. Some are made up of tribes,
*634 themselves divided into fractions; the Haha furnish the most

/191 cont./
616 is handed down from father to son. The "Aït Teskawin" never
574 dance while mingling with the other warriors of the tribe, but
*634 they stay around their "reis," who animates them with songs in
628 which he celebrates the military records of his leff (1).
535

[533] 1. The opposite of the dance of the "Teskawin," the "ahwach" and the "assega," are pacific dances that above all have the aim of permitting men, women, and girls to gather together and exchange, through transparent allusions, epigrams in which love takes first place.

The tradition of the "Teskawin" is still preserved among the
• [184] populations of the high valleys, where independence has enabled
[178] people to respect up to these last years the institutions of former
times. The Aghbar, the Seksawa, the Ida ou Mhamoud, the isolated "taqbilt" of the high mountains of the Gedmiwa keep it as a symbol and are attached to it with the feeling that it expresses their fidelity to the leff alliances.

616 The "Tinoubga" become the origin of many private associa-
574 tions, of alliances of families, and of marriages. Indeed, each
584 one looks for a wife, preferably in his own leff, although it is not
571 without precedent to see families of two opposing parties unite;
in that case, it can happen that a man might be led to taking up
582 arms against his son-in-law or his grandchildren, for the leff outweighs private alliances.

616 Among the cantons of the same leff -- those of the high
*634 mountains and those of the Dir -- are also established economic
311 relations of great importance. In the former are found rich /192/
241 summer pastures, harvests of walnuts, wool in abundance, but
233 barley and maize are lacking, for land is scarce in the encased
valleys. On the other hand, the cantons of the Dir have at their feet enormous areas that can be cultivated in "bour" as well as irrigated fields, but the flocks cannot exist in the plain in the

/200 cont./
174 to their anarchical constitutions, are respected and utilized. One
*634 still sees at present in the same regions the most important acts
619 of social life executed by following an anciently established cus-
554 tom that carefully fixes the precedence and the respective order
[178] of the fractions and tribes. Among the Ida Ou Tanan, the great
circuits of justice carried out by the notables are made, as we
have seen, in a rigorously determined order, they always begin
with the territory of the fraction that must take precedence in
combat and whose warriors are regarded as the "inflas" of the
country. They are actually "porte-bonheur" /bearers of good
luck/ who must be the first to undertake any difficult or impor-
tant action whose success is bound up with the good order and the
prosperity of the tribe (1).

1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 237.

• [184] The same tradition has been observed among the Haha, where
*[631] there exist privileged groups destined to be at the head of the
tribes and of the confederation in all circumstances; they are the
ones who begin the fantasias and go into combat first (2);

[113] 2. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905. Renseignements coloniaux /Colonial Information/, No. 1, p. 11.

in the south of this territory they are given the name of "inflas n
tsehil," that is, porte-bonheur charged with "facilitating" the ac-
*[631] complishment of any important action. In the internal struggles
[726] of this large confederation it is the "inflas" of the tribe of the
Imgrad who often decide the outcome of combats by retarding or
[616] precipitating the attack as they please. One could then suppose

/202 cont./

101 The "Aoggwa" (1)
616
619

> 1. The Aoggwa appear to us to have been an ancient Berbère /Berber/ tribe of the Sous. Their name is found at various points of the country (Unpublished notes of F. de la Chapelle on the mountain tribes of the Mtougga command).

are formed by most of the tribes that are found nowadays on the western routes of penetration of the mountains. From the plain
[131] of the Chtouka they extend on the one hand toward Tiznit, the
[491] Oulad Jerrar, the Aït Brihim, the Ifran, by the coast trail; on the other hand they go up toward the summits by way of the Aït Mzal, the Ida Ou Ktir, and the Ammeln, where they follow the transverse road that leads from the Sous plain toward Tamanart and Tizounin.

616 On the plains, in the vicinity of the Ocean, it is not rare
619 that a tribe is divided between the two leffs, but on the whole,
184 especially in the western Anti-Atlas, it is entire tribes or even confederations that enter into one or the other of the alliances. On the contrary, in the East, the units that form the leffs of the Igezzoulen and Isouktan scarcely exceed the scope of a canton. Ch. de Foucauld had already observed this more intimate mixture in the Saharan oases at Tatta, Tissint, and in the tribe of the Inda Ou Zal; but on the evidence of incomplete information he believed in the existence of a bloc of "Isouktan" embracing the Aït Semmeg, the Souktana, Zenaga, and Aït Amer. In going
616 around the country we were able to convince ourselves of the
619 state of division of the two leffs in the very tribe of the Souktana that gives its name to one of the parties (2).

[101]

> 2. In order to avoid confusion we shall employ here the Arabic form "Souktana" to designate the tribe of this name, to the south

616 /202 cont./
619 /footnote 2 continued/ of the Zagmouzen,
[101] and the Berbère /Berber/ form "Isouktan"
to indicate the leff.

*[634] In the Souktana tribe, the fractions of
the Aït Sous, Aït Fenzer of Tinfat, Ounzen,
Tounan, and El Hazen belong to the leff of
the "Isouktan"; those of the Aït Tazoult, Aït
Ighriten, Aït Hamid, Intaoun, Ighghedioun
are "Igezzoulen"; Azrar, Izazen, and
Imghartiyn are divided between the two leffs.

616 XI. Political role of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The importance
•184 of the leffs in the political life of the Anti-Atlas varies
according to region.

South of the Sirwa, it remained very great up to the time of
[792] the conquest of the Glawa. In this part of the country, each one
still knows with great precision the boundary of each of the
[578] parties; the marabouts especially, used to going to pacify discords
at /map appears here/ /203/ a great distance, carefully
make out which alliance they are dealing with in the smallest
village.

616 In the central Anti-Atlas, in the heart of the great mass of
619 Igezzoulen of the mountains, the feeling of the brotherhood of
578 the tribes is inevitably disturbed by internal discords; it is only at
184 the boundary of the "Aoggwa" tribes that the hatreds are revealed
with force between the two parties. Thus the struggle of the Aït
Mzal, who are Aoggwa, and the Ilalen, of the alliance of the
Igezzoulen, for possession of the souks /sooks/ is inflamed by the
spirit of the leffs.

[726] In the Tiznit plain, war between the two alliances was constant
[538] before our occupation, and the poets used to find an inexhaustible
source of inspiration in these combats. In seems, besides,
616 that in the vicinity of the coast the preponderance of the
619 mountain over the plain gave the pride of their strength to the
"Igezzoulen," long grouped in independence around the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 271]

/204 cont./
616 of the "Igezzoulen"; then, according to tradition, he came back
619 to the Sous across the mountains, carrying along behind him con-
648 tingents from all the tribes subjugated, amidst combats, by the
175 safe route toward the North offered him by the Ammeln, the Ida
[173] ou Gnidif, and the Aït Mzal, of the leff of the "Aoggwa." Fifty
years later Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, Caliphate of the Sous in the reign of Sidi Mohammed, contrary to his predecessor Aghennaj, remembered again that the tribes of the Haha all belonged to the great leff of the Igezzoulen and celebrated in great pomp his alliance with the son of Sidi Hachem; for having changed traditional policy in this way, however, he had to pay for this triumph with his life, by drinking, under the Sultan's eyes, the poison reserved for the enemies of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

616 XII. Historical hypotheses on the formation of the two leffs
578 of the Anti-Atlas. -- Although the appearance of the leffs is
174 more complex here than in the Atlas of the Masmouda, it is
easier to perceive in this region the origin of these two alliances.
• [184] In the minds of the tribal Berbères /Berbers/, among the Souktana
or the Aït Mzal, for example, the two leffs represent the tradition of ancient quarrels between two rival families at the time when the populations of the Anti-Atlas were still living in the desert; in support of this argument, people assert that the hatred of the two leffs has remained much more passionate in the vicinity of the Sahara. But the aggravation of the struggle of the parties is explained as well in these confines by the closer mixture of the families belonging to the two leffs and which came recently to colonize the oases of the Bani.

616 The name of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, which designate
174 either a big family of invading Berbères /Berbers/ -- the Igez-
zoulen -- or former tribes, like the Isouktan and the Aoggwa, and the very aspect of the two opposing alliances distributed in large masses around the summits or along the routes of penetration suggest rather the idea that this institution takes its origin here in the mode of the peopling of the land. Our ignorance of the history of the /205/ tribes permits us only to imagine how

/219 cont./
623 and intervenes to regulate the use and repair of the séguias: finally,
[185] it often designates minor functionaries remunerated by the
[241] /220/ community for the systematic regulation of irrigation:
[245] these are the ones that are called by the name of "amazzal," or
[624] again the "little inflas," or the "inflas of the water."

Sometimes it is the council of the "taqbilt" itself that inter-
623 venes in order to apply to those who act contrary to the crop
627 police the fines called "azzain n igran," fines of the fields. But
681 most often each "jema^{c}t" of a "mouda^c" fixes these penalties as
[625] it likes and collects the fines for its profit without swerving from
a traditional tariff known to all. Moreover, it is in this form of
[671] the "azzain n igran" that the customary law at the heart of the
[177] "mouda^c" persists longest, even when the progress of the penetration
[632] of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has led to its disappearance in
the country.

623 Thus, for reasons that are related to the conditions of material
•184 life, the assembly of the "mouda^c" often assumes great local
importance. Even in regions like that of the Haha, where the
population is dispersed over the whole territory in isolated houses,
the use of forest pastures, the execution of tasks in common by
mutual assistance contribute toward maintaining the tradition of
623 the "jema^{c}t" councils. Meetings are held when necessary in the
[346] Friday mosque, which is sequestered, like all the houses in this
[361] country, on a solitary hill (1).

632 1. It may happen that the organization of the
*634 "mouda^c" develops on the model of that of the
"taqbilt" and that it is then directed by a
moqaddem. This is the case in several small
[619] tribes of the Seksawa (the Aït Haddiyous in particular).
This event occurs in a region where
the "taqbilt," divided into three thirds, are
stronger than elsewhere; one grasps here from
life one of the phases of the appearance of new
autonomous fractions being formed by simple
growth of the "mouda^c." One also sees from

/221 cont./

*634 central Haut-Atlas, Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and Rif (2)

[113] 2. The term "Bou l arba" is also pointed out among the Branès: Trenga, "les Branès /The Branès/." Arch. berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 319.

the assembly of notables in a tribe or an independent fraction.

The origin of this name, so generally widespread, is unknown. [178] In our time the Aït Arba^cin are not 40, but, in the western Atlas, only ten or fifteen. Perhaps in the past the rep- [174] resentatives of the tribes divided into four groups, at ten per fraction, were designated this way (3).

[619] 3. The division of the tribes into "reba^c," quarter, is quite frequent, although less widespread than the division into "khoms" or fifth.

*634 802 174 The habit of counting by tens is in fact very widespread in the western Atlas. The Almohades, at the beginning of their movement, were familiar at Tinmellel with a "council of ten," gathered around the Mahdi; then a council of fifty, which indeed seems to have represented in principle the five privileged tribes. In our day, among the Ida Ou Tanan and in the south of the Haha, each "taqbilt" or "afous" must, in important circumstances, complete up to ten the number of its representatives who figure in the general assemblies of tribe or confederation. It may be, moreover, that the choice of the number ten is explained simply by the necessity of apportioning expenses and profits and dividing taxes and fines into equal parts, essential work of the assemblies of notables, by counting on the fingers.

*634 •184 III. The inflas, their magical origin. -- On the south versant /222/ of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, as well as in the Sous plain and the Anti-Atlas, the name of "Aït Arba^{c}in" is generally

*634 •184 /222 cont./ replaced by that of "inflas" or "anfalis," which is the plural form of "anflous."

*634 174 789 Here it is easier to find the origin of this term. The "anflous" (1) appears to be originally a personage who possesses magical powers. Known also sometimes by the name of "amzwar" (2), it is he who proceeds with the first plowing so that the harvests will be favorable. At Massat, the sons of an "anflous" are thrown for an instant into the river each spring, so that the irrigation of the gardens will give good harvests. Likewise, there are "inflas lbaroud" for war, whose presence in combat is a promise of success. Again, it is "inflas el khir" who make the rain fall, and [184] one even sees, among the Haha, this magical conception of the *[631] [619] porte-bonheur take on the importance of a veritable institution in the life of the country; the confederation has its "inflas," who are the men of the Imgrad tribe; each tribe has its "inflas" chosen from a privileged "khoms" (3).

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[113] 1. Anflous, from the root Fls, to have confidence. (De Foucauld, Dictionnaire touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, Vol. I, p. 228.) The Arab word "amin," used in Kabylie /Kabylia/, could be only the translation of the word "anflous."

2. From the Berbère /Berber/ "Zwour," to precede. "The amzwar" is the one asked first to do an important or difficult act because he is a porte-bonheur.

[113] 3. Cf. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, supplement No. 1, p. 8.

/222 cont./
*634 and in the south of the country, where the traditions are more
[174] intact, the "khoms" or "afous" also has its own. Formerly, at
[789] the time of the "siba," no serious decision was made without
•[184] consulting these important personages. The "inflas n tsehil,"
*[631] so called because they "facilitate" the accomplishment of all
[619] things (4).

---

4. Cf. above, p. 259.

sometimes give their counsel in the most critical political circumstances, even when in everyday life they pass as men without importance and may be without intelligence and poor in
*634 spirit. Sometimes even, for the collection of taxes, their role
651 is indispensable. Among the Aït ᶜAmer, it is an "anflous" who
[778] must count the money collected, by placing it on the flap of his
burnoose so that this sum may meet with a happy end by communication from his "baraka." If the "anflous" is not there, one has a young child of the same family sit on his cloak, who receives in exchange for his good services a small recompense -- "l haqq n tbiliout" -- the fee of the "flap of the cloak." Doubtless these "inflas el /223/ khir," these "porte-bonheur," have only the name in common with the "inflas" that make up the council of the "khoms" or of the canton in the Sous plain and the Anti-Atlas. Nevertheless, one cannot fail to try to compare the two institutions.

*634 One may wonder whether these magical personages, without
789 political power in our day, but who are still carefully consulted,
174 are not the successors of sorcerers, high priests, "agrarian kings,"
whose magical or magico-religious practices formerly ensured
178 the prosperity and the life of the clan (1).

---

1. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, pp. 313-315.

In many regions it is true, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have, thanks to their "baraka," replaced the porte-bonheur of former

/223 cont./

*634 times. But one could imagine that the care of deciding the af-
789 fairs of the tribe formerly belonged to men endowed with a
174 magical authority, the "inflas el khir," and that little by little
178 they were replaced in the bosom of the council by simple notables, powerful by their wealth or strong by their courage and the
*634 number of their brothers. To support this thesis, one might cite
789 the presence, in the political assembly of the fraction, of
•184 counselors of "good augury," who are still found in our day on
[174 the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the tribes of
[178] the Ergita, Mentaga, Imedlaoun, Aīt Waggonsan. There, as a matter of fact, the council is made up of two parts: one of them is constituted by the representation of the families according to turns rigorously set by tradition; the other brings together the "men of good counsel," old men who are clever and know the traditions, or men famous for giving advice favored by fortune. The latter, who alone, properly speaking, merit the name of "inflas," are there called the "Imeslaīn" (2) or the "Imbarkiyn," and we see them intervene frequently in the deliberations and give their personal support to the moqaddems, presidents of the small independent republics of the Tichka.

Among the Ida Ou Tanan it is still "inflas el khir" who in the meetings disarm those who are cited before the "ajmoᶜa," general assembly of notables, and collect without shame the wages -- "outaīq" -- that the oldest or most respected men give them (3).

Finally, elsewhere, such as in the Aghbar, among the Seksawa or

2. Compare Huyghe, Dictionnaire kabyle-français /Kabyle-French Dictionary/, Paris, 1901, p. 224, "meslaie," to converse with someone about something, to speak.

3. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan (Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 238).

/223 cont./
*634 the Gedmiwa, these privileged inflas do not have /224/ magical
789 powers; they appear to us to be no more than the aides of the
•184 moqaddem, "ᶜawan," transmit his orders, give him advice, and
assist him in all circumstances. As proof of their devotion, they deposit guns or daggers in the leader's house as a pledge.

*634 IV. The moqaddem. -- Each year the council of the canton
554 meets in order to receive the administration accounts of its president, the "moqaddem" (1), and to proceed to the nomination of his successor. According to ancient tradition in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the moqaddem must be an effaced man who at every moment considers himself the spokesman of the council. At his name indicates, he is only the first of the "inflas," the one who precedes, who is placed in front. For all important affairs he consults the heads of the "ikhs" and the men of good counsel, and when he has to act unexpectedly, he hastens to have his decision approved. Most often, he is
[666] chosen by turn in each village, sometimes his name is drawn by
[613] lot from among the heads of the "ikhs." In practice, however,
*634 the role of the moqaddem has been greatly expanded; it is he who
692 is most often chosen as arbitrator in disputes. If the affairs pre-
554 sented to him are too complex, he names another arbitrator, a stranger to the canton, or a cadi of the vicinity (2).

1. From the Arabic "qeddama," to place in front of oneself; literally, the one who is put at the head.

2. The cadi's decisions are often solicited by notables who are afraid of getting an unfavorable sentence in their cantons, but who are, on the other hand, strong enough to have the decision of an outside personage respected or executed in their village. Sometimes, too, the judgment of the cadi is considered to be less

/225 cont./

*634 554 firmly and "does not shut the door" weakens the tribe; he is not capable, it is said, of making the necessary decisions in order to ensure for the canton, amidst the perils that threaten it, a free and independent life.

*634 673 [681] When the moqaddem assumes his duties, he often decrees a list of infractions that will be repressed through his attentions, according to a scale that he has established in agreement with his advisers. An act is drawn up, the authenticity of which is certified by the notables. An examination of these acts sometimes allows us to divine the struggles that break out within these small states. [613] In the Haut-Atlas, one often sees appear, in place of the names of the 12 or 15 heads of the "ikhs" who represent the canton, on the sheet written by the taleb, that of three or four powerful personages, friends of the moqaddem, who take it upon themselves to accept in the name of the whole group the regulations decreed by the new leader. There is thus formed a kind of little senate that diminishes the political importance of the canton council.

*634 •184 Among the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, the internal government of the "taqbilt" takes a form through which the influence of the richest notables is indicated even better. There, the members of the council -- the "Aït ed diwan," are only four in number. The assembly of the "Aït Arba^c in" nevertheless exists: it is made up of young men designated for a year at the rate of one per family, who come in /226/ turn to make sure of the watch in the collective fortress, receive their part of the fines collected, eat the meals offered by the guilty ones to the tribe. When they have nothing better to do, they go to look for wood for the mosque and heat the water for ablutions. And so, in derision, they are given the surname of "bou khorbich" (1).

1. Khorbich, room adjoining the mosque, where the water for ablutions is heated.

To this effacement of the council thus corresponds an increase of the power of the "senate." At the same time the attributions of

/226 cont./

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the moqaddem, jealously watched by the influential notables, are reduced.

The political constitutions of all these small states are far from identical; in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ certain cantons name their moqaddem under conditions that differ greatly from those that we have indicated. Thus, the Aït Chaᶜïb, in the tribe of the Demsira, who put up a furious resistance against the domination of the kaids of the Mtougga, proceed in the following manner. At the beginning of the year, the "taqbilt" gathers 100 armed men in a religious sanctuary. Fifteen daggers are handed to the representatives of the "moudaᶜ" whose turn for command has arrived. The latter then designate the moqaddem, who says a prayer and in turn names the Aït Arbaᶜin for the year, at the rate of two per "moudaᶜ." In this fraction one also sees the moqaddem gather together in serious cases, not only the Aït Arbaᶜin in office, but all the notables. Moreover, his powers are more extensive than elsewhere; the Aït Arbaᶜin are at his orders, and he is their chief rather than their agent. Doubtless the moqaddem's power and authority, which make him a sort of military leader, facilitated the energetic attitude of defense that the Aït Chaᶜib kept with regard to their Mtougga enemies (2).

2. From F. de La Chapelle (Étude inédite sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished study on the dissident tribes of the Mtougga command/).

At Thinghir in the Todgha, the head of the assembly, named for one year and who takes the name of "amghar," is chosen by his predecessor. In the presence of all the warriors the new amghar in turn designates those who will assist him in the government: "I want So-and-So, son of So-and-So, of Such-and-Such family, to be with me in order to help me concerning the settlement of village disputes" (3).

3. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, p. 126.

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*634 Again, let us cite the Aït Tounert, in the tribe of the Ida ou
—•184 Mhamoud, /227/ who take their moqaddem in four families of the "taqbilt" to the exclusion of all the others. In the "taqbilt" of the Aït Gaïr, in the high valleys of the Gedmiwa, only the inhabitants of the village of Taounghast, in which there is a large fortress constructed a century ago by contribution from all the other villages, have the right to direct the politics of the valley and the moqaddem is always chosen in their city.

*634 V. The distribution of the fines. -- No act of the life of the
681 "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ enables one to judge the
652 strength of their republican institutions better than the distribution of the fines. When the traditional rule of the three thirds -- one reserved for the moqaddem, the other for the inflas, the third for the common treasury of the "taqbilt," is still observed exactly, one has proof of a perfect preservation of the oligarchic institutions.

In the western Atlas it is the moqaddem who is charged with keeping the accounts of the treasury (1).

1. It is the same for the amghar in the Todgha (Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, p. 128).

The money collected permits lodging guests, compensating for the minor services rendered to the council, giving small benefits to the poor, and above all celebrating the "tinoubga," festivities of alliance, with éclat.

*634 Sometimes, moreover, it is necessary, after exceptional ex-
652 penses, to restore the reserve fund of the "taqbilt" treasury and
[651] proceed to a levy of extraordinary taxes or "frida." The "inflas," or a few eminent or respected personages, are then often exempted from furnishing contributions in money.

*634 In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ the only region in which the
652 institution of a taqbilt treasury has been preserved intact up to our
178 day is that of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, protected, thanks to its remoteness, from the direct influence of the great chiefs. One still sees

/227 cont./ One still sees
*634 at present, figuring in the annual accounts that the moqaddem
652 has to render to his successor, the purchase of a she-mule of-
178 fered as "hedia" /hadiyah, "gift"/ to the powerful kaid of
[431] Bouaboud (2).

2. From F. de La Chapelle (ibid.).

*634 Often another custom, particularly widespread in the Sous and
681 Anti-Atlas, is introduced, which permits avoiding the difficulties
574 of the distribution of the fines: that of the "imensi n tqbilt," the
•[184] dinner offered by the guilty one to the inflas of the fraction.
The menu of /228/ this meal is fixed in advance according to the importance of the crime or offense; it is always accompanied by an offering of lumps of sugar.

The rapacity of the "inflas" -- well known and even proverbial, since it is said in the Sous plain that they would be capable of claiming up to the dogs' share of an inheritance -- is given free play at the "imensi n tqbilt." In this circumstance the
[578] beneficiaries of these common meals are sometimes seen to quarrel because one of them invites, without the authorization of the assembly, a passing guest. In fact, it seems impossible to acknowledge to them that this outsider thus diminishes everyone's part and takes away from the family heads the just payment to which they are entitled (1).

[671] 1. Certain customary regulations gravely discuss this problem of distribution, and people consent to close their eyes to the wrong done to the inflas by the invitation of a guest on condition that the latter take only one single mouthful from the dish, through simple politeness (Droit coutumier de l'Agadir de Tamaloukt /Customary law of the Agadir of Tamaloukt/, communicated by M. Ben Daoud).

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*634 -184 178 VI. The councils of fractions or of tribes without moqaddem. -- The ancient constitution of the Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, in the region of the Tichka and of the mountain Gedmiwa, always assumed the presence of the moqaddem. In our day, even in the regions remaining independent, this elected head has often been replaced by an "amghar," who keeps supreme power as long as he is strong enough to impose his authority on the rival families. But in the other mountainous regions of the South of Morocco, the public mind has remained more hostile to the appearance of personal power. One tribe of the confederation of the Ida Ou Tanan, the Aït Ouaᶜzzoun, knows neither moqaddem nor amghar; likewise, most of the cantons of the Aït Waouzgit, before the conquest of the Glawa, had only a small senate and Aït Arbaᶜin without a president. Finally, among the independent tribes of the western Anti-Atlas, small councils of notables -- six per fraction in general -- administer the "khoms," without having a designated leader. Sometimes there, it is true, an influential notable exercises, thanks to his energy, true authority; but by his feigned modesty in the councils he tries to avoid the appearance of command. In the assembly he is only one "anflous" amidst his brothers, and if people consent to give him the title of "moqaddem," he bears it without ostentation, carefully guarding against appearing to direct the deliberations, whose outcome he has dictated in advance in secret talks with his creatures (2).

2. The tribes of the foot of the western Anti-Atlas or of the irrigated oases of the plains /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ possessed, however, before the progress of the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, moqaddems similar to those of the Haut-Atlas -- at Tiznit and among the Ida ou Gersmouk, for example. The "ᶜorf" of the Ida ou Gersmouk collected by M. Ben Daoud begins with the following proclamation: "Know

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*634 •184 [178] /footnote 2 continued/ that the moqaddem is the base on which all the affairs of the tribe rest."

[613] /229/ Concord is difficult to establish in the bosom of the councils of inflas not provided with a moqaddem, where the only rule appears to be to maintain complete equality among all the representatives of the "ikhs." In order to prevent discords and to come to impose on the strongest groups the decisions made by the other families in conformity with custom, it often happens that the small elementary states of the mountains come out of their isolation and join their neighbors: thus true tribal councils are constituted, in which each "khoms" delegates its inflas. In the Anti-Atlas such are the assemblies of the Aït Mzal, of the Ida Ou Gnidif, of the Aït Wadrim of the mountains; they each bring together 24 representatives who judge crimes in conformity with the ᶜorf (1). *634 619 184 [692]

*634 619 692 184 682 671 [613] 1. In these tribal councils the conditions under which the customary law is applied in case of murder let the laxity of the social institutions be perceived. Among the Ida Ou Gnidif, for example, the inflas friends of the murderer give back to his family the part of the fine that comes to them out of the sum imposed by the tribe. Each one supports his brothers; the "ikhs" are stronger than the tribe. Often, it is true, the customary law foresees this situation, and the ᶜorf intervenes to condemn to increased fines the inflas who try to vouch for their brothers or appeal for them to outside authorities.

Thus each of the council members is ceaselessly impelled in two opposite directions: the duty to protect his brothers or the brothers of his friends, and the desire to take part in the distribution of the goods of the guilty. His conduct is inspired by the circumstances.

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*634 VII. The justice circuits. -- When the cantons are thus
619 grouped so as to constitute a veritable tribe, made up of a cer-
692 tain number of small autonomous units, they often proceed with
circuits of justice carried out in the whole territory, in the course of which all the infractions committed during the year are investigated and punished. All the forces of the tribe then come to lend their support to each of the cantons, in order to facilitate the rapid settlement of differences without any danger to internal peace resulting from it.

*634 This custom, observed not long ago among the Igezzoulen of
619 the western Anti-Atlas, is still very much alive in the confedera-
692 tion of the Ida Ou Tanan, among the Aït Ouᶜazzoun and the
•184 Ifesfasen. The circuit of justice is carried out by following a
178 minutely observed ceremonial. Among the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, for
example, a tribe made up of 15 "afous" or fractions, each "afous" first assembles ten Aït Arbaᶜin, who designate a representative. The 15 delegates of the "afous" thus named delib-
[625] erate apart and form the /230/ council of the "imzran" (1),

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ "zer," to see. The word, like that of Aït Arbaᶜin, has no singular. In order to designate one of the members, one says "ian gh imzran," one of the "imzran."

while the mass of the Aït Arbaᶜin of all the fractions together constitutes a police force capable of having all the decisions carried out. The whole takes the name of "ajmoᶜa" of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun. Thus formed, the "ajmoᶜa" goes first of all among the Aït Wanzig, who are the "inflas el khir" or "porte-bonheur" of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun tribe. For a day and a night the council investigates all the cases of theft or murder committed during the year and of which an account has been carefully kept by the notables
[695] and which the taleb has noted in writing. The guilty are sum-
[681] moned, heard, condemmed to be fined, and they pay on the spot

*634 /230 cont./
619 pledges consisting of a certain number of guns. If the guilty
692 ones are marabouts, who do not have guns, they pay a fine in
the form of animals destined for the common meals. The next
•184 day, the "ajmoᶜa" moves on, following a traditionally fixed
178 itinerary, and stops for two or three days, according to the size
[695] of the fractions. One night is spent at the zaouia of Sidi Brahim
[681] Ou ᶜAli, religious center of the confederation, where a solemn
[792] sacrifice is offered to the saint. Finally, the circuit of justice
[782] ends in the cantons of the north, and on the last day, at the
zaouia of Issouqal, the guilty ones come to pay their fines and
take back the guns they had pledged. The marabouts who played
[431] the role of conciliators or advisors receive gifts, and a sacrifice
[782] is offered to the saint of Issouqal. Then the remaining money is
[652] immediately divided into two halves; one goes to the "imzran,"
the other to the fractions represented by the Aït Arbaᶜin.

One conceives what difficulties are presented for making order prevail in the small republics incapable of naming moqaddem, and which cannot, in order to put an end to the disputes of rival "ikhs," always threatening, unite with their neighbors to carry out circuits of justice with large forces. Left to themselves, they become sources of agitation and private wars, unless a leader succeeds in imposing his will on the turbulent assembly of the Aït Arbaᶜin. Among the Ida Ou Tanan such is the fate of the isolated fractions of the Aït Wanoukrim, Aït Oulma, Iberouten, in the tribe of the Ifesfasen, which possess neither moqaddem nor powerful "ajmoᶜa" capable of having /231/ the decisions of the notables applied. The inhabitants try to constitute, after a fashion, by their own means, an "ajmoᶜa" to which come all the men under arms; but for lack of a tradition as respected as that of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, the "ajmoᶜa" often ends in fights.

*634 A similar example of impotence is given us in the heart of
184 the Masmouda country by the little "taqbilt" of the Aït Tigidar,
in the Asif el Mal, also endowed with a democratic constitution
without moqaddem, amidst neighboring fractions that are more
[578] pacific and better organized. Discords multiplied to such a point
[361] in this small territory that the village of Assaïs, political center

*634 /231 cont./
•184 of the "taqbilt," itself gives evidence of the constant anarchy by
578 its external aspect; the scattered and isolated houses give it the
361 appearance of a little corner of the Rif.

VIII. The internal and external wars. -- During the fights
*634 that the cantons of the two leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/
616 wage against one another, the small Berbère /Berber/ states do
701 not designate any military leaders. The moqaddem acts as one.
726 Each "taqbilt" fights in dispersed order, in the inextricable confusion that results from the entanglement of the two alliances. Even in the most serious circumstances, when the independence of the high mountains is threatened by the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or the neighboring kaids, the state of division of the country does not generally allow designating a single leader in this region. The Ida Ou Tanan themselves, whose constitution
[648] is so strong and so respected, summoned by Moulay el Hasan in
1888 to show their submission by the sending of presents, knew very well how to come to an arrangement, in spite of the efforts of their notables or their amghars, to refuse that homage to the sovereign; but the mass of the warriors who had decided to reject the authority of the Makhzen could oppose to the Sultan's harkas only efforts that were poorly contrived and dedicated in advance to failure. In the same way, at the time of the conquest of the Aghbar by the kaids of Tagontaft, the four fractions of the high valley, habitually divided, united for an instant and imposed silence on the leff disputes that put them in opposition; but no leader appeared capable of directing a resistance, which was nevertheless heroic and obstinate (1).

1. Cf. Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 231; Hespéris, 1927, p. 24.

*634 /232/ In the cantons remaining faithful to the regime of
701 assemblies and moqaddems, it seems that the greatest perils can-
726 not give rise to a man of war capable of saving them from danger.
So, most often, the independent tribes close themselves up in a
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443 tribes located at several days' distance. It is understood that in
*634 this case no chief, no meeting of notables can have sufficient
792 prestige to impose respect on such a crowd divided by the mem-
784 ory of so many quarrels. To order to have peace and security
prevail during the holy days of the "mouggar," the fear of the
punishments of a saint whose fearsome power is known to all is
necessary.

443 In the souqs and the "mouggar," men and women always
562 occupy separate "rahba," different quarters. In certain tribes,
834 where custom watches more carefully to see that the /252/ two
sexes preserve a distinct activity in the external life, one finds
•184 special markets reserved for women. Doutté observed their ex-
istence in the north of the Haha; others are found in the South of
that confederation and in the Sous plain among the Chtouka.

The explanation of this institution of markets specially re-
served for women is perhaps quite simple. The Berbère /Berber/
[462] woman is in fact exclusively entrusted with the purchase and sale
of certain products, wool, henna, fruit, eggs, and one understands that she thus has her particular souqs; it might be, moreover, that this institution may conform to the usual tendency toward the division of the two sexes in the domestic life, which one observes among the Berbères /Berbers/. There is reason to note, however, that in the South of Morocco the women's souqs appear in the most Islamized regions. They are, on the contrary, unknown in the mountains, in the regions where the most ancient traditions have been best preserved. Let us add that certain women's markets are of recent creation, and that to justify their existence people in the tribes invoke the observance of the prescriptions of Islam on the rigorous separation of the sexes in social life (1).

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[113] 1. Cf. Doutté, Bulletin de l'Afrique française, supplément économique, 1905, p. 2, and our article, "Coutumes et légendes de la côte berbère /Customs and Legends of the Berber Coast/," Hespéris, 1924, 1st quarter, pp. 104-105.

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/Footnote 1 continued./ Doutté thinks, on the contrary, that it is a matter of a purely Berbère /Berber/ institution and one that is explained by the sacred and redoubtable character of the woman.

Several markets reserved for women exist among the Beni Ouriaghel of the Rif in a very Islamized region.

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In the Rif, where anarchy develops spontaneously and spreads much farther than in the South of Morocco, the protection of the markets is the occasion chosen by the tribes of the vicinity to conclude an alliance, a "ribat." But here again in these meetings appear leaders charged with judging the differences that can arise in this turbulent assemblage of armed men.

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For example, the Targist market, which has particular importance since it is found at the crossing of the principle routes of passage in the region of the Haut-Ghis, is under the supervision of "amghars" especially designated by three neighboring tribes, the Beni Mesdwi, Targist, Zerqet. These chiefs hold their meetings in an isolated "tahanout," and on their initiative the public crier announces to all the established rule: "O Mussulmans! Know that there /253/ exists among us an agreement concerning the souq /sook/ of the Oued, valid for three days, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. He who kills someone must pay 2,000 Spanish douros; if he only wounds him, he gives 1,000 douros. He who stops a drover of beasts during these three days must give back the other's property and pay 500 douros in fines; for our market is a market where peace prevails, O Mussulmans! and each one can verify this with his own eyes. May God blind the one who does not wish to see!" In spite of these precautions, however, shots burst out sometimes and the souq is broken up; when incidents occur again, the market disappears, to the great loss of the inhabitants of the country (1).

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1. It is known that likewise in Kabylie /Kabylia/ the surveillance and the policing of markets are

343 /254/ They are large square houses, provided on the exterior with a single door that leads to a central courtyard onto
which open four or five floors of small rooms. Access to each
[417) of them is by a crude ladder carved in a tree trunk in "y" shape
and by suspended passageways -- "isfoula" -- that run from one
room to another. Sometimes a complete "isfoula" passageway
even turns like a spiral along the four interior façades so as to
run between all the floors of the agadir.

Each household possesses a variable number of rooms in the collective storehouse, two or three on the average, utilized especially for storing grain. The door of the agadir usually stays open during the day; the key is kept indiscriminately by the one of the inhabitants who comes first to use it in the morning, for
there is no guard designated by the community. The hamlet
[712] "agadir" is nothing like a fortress; used by a small group of households, it has the appearance of a familial storehouse. Most often the construction is ancient and the walls are falling in ruins; new storehouses have not been built any more for a long time, it seems. In many hamlets of the Deren, they are entirely ruined and are not restored. Thus the use of these little storehouses tends to be lost, and each one becomes accustomed more and more to keeping his harvests and his provisions in his own house.

343 But there exist also in the same regions other, larger agadirs
•184 in which a whole "mouda^{c}" or sometimes even a "taqbilt" comes
[632] to put its grain under shelter. This institution is still very much
[621] alive among the Ida Ou Mhamoud, in some cantons of the
*[634] Seksawa, and among the Aït Gaïr and Aït Tigidar of the mountain Gedmiwa. In the region of the summits of the Sirwa these
343 large storehouses, remaining more numerous, often take on the
712 aspect of fortresses. Then they are large rectangular constructions
184 that enclose three or four floors of chambers for provisions; they
are flanked for defense by two or four carefully placed corner
towers. The agadirs of the Aït Waouzgit, built on positions easy
to defend, surrounded by a rampart behind which is found the
mosque, the storehouse of the jema^{c}a, that of the marabouts,
/255/ the rest chambers for the guard, and a house reserved for
the deliberations of the notables, truly concentrate all the social

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343 activity of the little Berbère /Berber/ republics during the peace. 712 In addition, if war breaks out, each one comes to seek refuge •184 there with his family in case of peril; a huge cistern that always remains full permits holding out against a long siege.

[619] These fortresses are particularly numerous in the Anti-Atlas. Each tribe or each big fraction has its own. *[634] They then are often arranged in the interior in the form of narrow streets onto which open two rows of rooms built on three or four floors (1).

[171] 1. This arrangement is identical with the one of the storehouses of the nomad Berbères /Berbers/ of the Tunisian South in the region of Foum Tatahouine.

Projecting stones permit access by climbing up to the highest doors. An enclosure of jujube-tree thorns piled up several meters high, several crenelated borjs /towers/ provided with machicolations ensure defense. [625] The watch is stood by a group of warriors from the tribe designated in turn in each "mouda^c" or each hamlet; the doorkeeper lives permanently inside the enclosure.

In these tribes of the Anti-Atlas, the use of the agadir is so general that one comes to keep in each house the provisions for only one day. Each morning the head of the family goes to obtain the necessary victuals from the canton storehouse, in order, he says, "that the women will not waste God's blessing."

[182] The role played by the agadirs of the Anti-Atlas and the Sirwa region is easily explained by the conditions of life in a country where people can subsist only by amassing provisions in the years of abundance, rarer than those of drought and famine (2).

[127] 2. M. Officer Interpreter Ben Daoud has kindly communicated to us a work in preparation on the orf /tribal custom/ concerning the agadir of the Tamellokt tribe. This document contains more than 350 articles, which throw the most

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343 /footnote 2 continued/ curious light on the psy-
712 chology of the council of the chiefs of the
• 184 agadir. We thank him for kindly authorizing us
[127] to cite some of the most suggestive ideas of this
translation.

343 So we see the canton storehouse take on, without losing any of
712 its defensive character, a growing economic importance; the
182 number of rooms multiplies; a market is established at the door;
[443] special functionaries: a doorkeeper, some amins, a council of
[463] notables who proudly give themselves the title of "ᶜOmmal" --
[571] "governors" of the agadir -- see to the good functioning, the
[625] maintenance, and the security of the storehouse. This organiza-
tion becomes the /256/ point of departure of a complicated
343 juridical regulation that fixes minutely the rights and the duties
712 of the users; finally customaries appear, which are among the
182 most surprising and perfect monuments of the legislation of the
671 Berbères /Berbers/. These collections, to which the name of
571 "louh," small board, is given, doubtless because they were orig-
inally written on a small board suspended on the wall, sometimes have more than 200 or 300 articles. The repair of the rooms and their roofing, the use of the measuring instruments, the sale of the commodites, security /Fr. nantissement, security, pledge, lien/, the use of loans on harvests are foreseen and studied in these codes with a precision of detail and good sense that does not seem to us to have been surpassed in any collective organization of the autochthons of North Africa (1).

[113] 1. Cf. our study: "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/," Hespéris, 1929.

343 The council of the agadir of the Anti-Atlas is constituted,
571 like that of the "taqbilt" of the Masmouda, by the heads of the
554 most important families of the "khoms" or of the tribe. Its
authority increases ceaselessly in proportion as the storehouse

/258 cont./

343 •184 178 VI. Development of the institution of agadirs in the past. -- The institution of agadirs in the form that we have described, whether it is a matter of simple storehouses of hamlets or of "mouda^{c}," like those of the Deren, or of large fortresses in the Anti-Atlas or the Sirwa, presents in the Sous in our day signs of a profound decline. In the Atlas, agadirs appear only in the regions of the summits: in the country of the Seksawa of the high mountains, among the Ida Ou Mhamoud, the Gedmiwa of the Aghbar and of the higher valleys of the Asif el Mal; among the Glawa, in the vicinity of Telwet and in some cantons of the Imeghran and of the Imegoun. In the Sirwa they exist only in the highest part of the great volcanic massif, among the Aït Tadrart, the Aït Qalla, the Aït Maghlif and Ikhozamen. Finally, in the Anti-Atlas, where they took on greater importance than anywhere else, they are nevertheless found only in the tribes included between the country of the Ida Ou Gnidif and the Aït Mzal to the West, that of the Isouktan to the East, and, on the other hand, between the Dir of the North versant and the neighboring region of the crests.

Thus one sees that the zone in which collective storehouses exist is reduced still more than that of the tribes remaining independent until our arrival in the Moroccan South, since this institution cannot be observed among the Ida Ou Tanan, the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, and on all the Saharan confines of the Dra.

343 114 The agadirs, moreover, are small enough in number so that as careful an observer as Ch. de Foucauld, in crossing the Anti-Atlas twice in 1883 -- without straying, it is true, from the /259/ principal roads -- could have failed to point them out or was entirely mistaken as to their true use (1).

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1. Ch. de Foucauld, after describing "the storehouse châteaux" of the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and of the central Atlas, which are similar

/259 cont./

343 Among the Haha, the name of agadir is given in our day to
178 villages situated in a position easy to defend -- at points that
•184 were suitable for the building of fortresses whose traces are no
361 longer visible. In the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, the institution has not been forgotten as much, since people still indicate the spots where the storehouses, which the most ancient old men themselves found ruined, formerly existed (2),

> 2. Such are the agadirs of the summit of the Jebel Aʿouljad, that of Imaᶜizen (agadir n Tafoukt), of Assaka (agadir n Aït ᶜAli), of Tizgi n Chorfa (agadir n Ikberdiden), of Tadrart (agadir n Aït ou Belaᶜid).
>
> [113] Let us add that Portuguese nautical instruc-
> [175] tions of the sixteenth century (R. Ricard, "La côte atlantique du Maroc au début du XVI^e siècle /The Atlantic Coast of Morocco at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century/," Hespéris, 1927, p. 251) point out to us on the coast of the Ida ou Tanan the châteaux of Palma, Turucuco, Tucurumu, Tamarate (Tamerakht), which are probably agadirs.

and which belonged, if one judges by their names, to villages or cantons.

343 Even in the Anti-Atlas the large agadirs were formerly more
712 numerous, especially in the vicinity of the Dir, so that one /260/
184 can assert, by invoking the appearance of the ruins or the indica-
178 tions of the toponymy, that all the mountain Berbère /Berber/
[722] tribes -- with the exception perhaps of those of the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, still poorly known -- formerly possessed fortresses constructed by the villages or cantons, within which all the families kept their provisions and came to seek refuge during wars or internal discords.

The causes of the decline of this institution are doubtless
(648) numerous; the most effective one is certainly the conquest of the country by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

/263 cont./

178 •184 *[631] More to the East, following the crests of the mountains, in the region of the Nefis and the Glawa, the substitution of the limitless despotism of the great chiefs for the old government by assemblies is still more general and takes on the aspect of a veritable social revolution. It is the same in the Sirwa, on the Saharan confines of the Haut-Dra, throughout the region where imgharen /plural of amghar/ more respectful of the old customs, and whom the conquest by the Glawa swept away, formerly existed.

178 177 The resistance offered by the Anti-Atlas is more energetic. If the Makhzen /makhzan/ succeeded in causing minor chiefs to rise and grow in importance there, especially to the south of Taroudant, nevertheless more efforts were necessary in order to destroy the democratic or oligarchic organization of the cantons dominated by their big agadirs, and to ruin that work of long centuries of independent existence, so perfectly adapted to the conditions of life. But there again, in the large valleys, on the routes of penetration utilized by the Makhzen /makhzan/, and on the whole edge of the Dir, the retreat of the former institutions is noticeable everywhere.

At the same time that the Berbère /Berber/ republics are disappearing and the ruins of the agadirs become more numerous on the summits of the hills, the individuality of the cantons tends to disappear in all the subject regions; the leffs, broken by the political action of the amghars and kaids, disturbed in their unity by the overturning of alliances, lose their meaning and usefulness. New houses of sheiks take the place of the collective storehouses of the tribes; casbahs rise from the ground, and their appearance now makes us believe in the existence of a powerful feudal organization. Everywhere the domination of the chiefs of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established in haste, as if to consolidate its fragile conquest.

178 /264/ No spectacle is more instructive than that of the Berbère /Berber/ villages in the regions passing so abruptly from the patriarchal government of the assemblies to the despotic authority of the chiefs. The aspect of the houses and fortresses alone is

/279 cont./
175 independence with respect to the great kaid of the Nefis, he kept
159 intact a readily accepted authority, whose whole secret was in
*631 the strength of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances (1).
*634
616
726

1. Notes of F. de La Chapelle.

VI. The amghars of the Ida Ou Zeddagh (1840-1925). -- It
175 is under conditions analogous to the ones that favored the amghar
*634 Hafid of the Idmą that two families of amghars have kept power
without difficulty on the south versant of the Atlas for several
[616] generations. Although these minor sheiks -- the Aït Bazzi of
Talekjont and the Id Mansour of Talemt -- had seen their liberty
restrained by the close surveillance exercised over them by the
Makhzen /makhzan/ of Taroudant, it is easy to see that all their
power was held, like that of their rivals in the high mountains,
in their role as leff chiefs.

The political circumstances under which the amghars of
Talekjont and Talemt exercised their commands were particularly
stable during the nineteenth century. Up to the time of the conquest of the country by the great kaids, on all the south versant of
the Atlas, from the Onein to the Ida Ou Zal, the organization of
the tribes did not change. The regime of the little Berbère /Berber/ cantons varied according to their distance from the valley of
the Sous, subject to the caliphate of the sultan at Taroudant. In
• [184] the high mountains they were small republics, directed by an
assembly presided over by a moqaddem, among the Aït Waggonsan, the Tigouga, the Ida Ou Msattog, or by a simple council of
inflas without a moqaddem at Adebdi, among the Aït Souah, the
Ihengirn; on the slopes were found minuscule cantons governed by
a senate of /280/ three or four notables; finally, large market
towns subject to amghars in touch with the Makhzen /makhzan/
[616] existed at the very edge of the plain. Among these diverse territorial units, the bond between two leffs, the "Ida ou Zeddagh" (1)

[619] 1. The name Ida ou Zeddagh designates both a tribe and a leff of this tribe and the neighboring regions.

/288 cont./

175 *634 but has made them his creatures. Willy-nilly, the plain has had to accept his authority. This former thief is respected because he has made his fortune and is a man of his word. He holds the col of Ferqelma and the Tizi n Tgodicht and gains in this way, in a region where the passing of caravans is the principal source of wealth, a ceaselessly growing authority. All eyes are turned toward him in order to try to escape the feared conquest by the Mtougga. He now aspires to become a makhzen /makhzan/ [177] chief, on condition that his position as amghar be recognized. Placed with respect to Taroudant in a geographic situation analogous to the one that the amghar Ou ben ᶜAli had with regard to Marrakech, having started out still lower, ᶜAli Ou Hammo was exceptionally able to succeed because he had the good luck, during ten years of liberty, to act as he liked in a country still screened from the direct authority of the Sultan.

*634 X. The minor chiefs of the Ida Ou Tanan. -- The appearance of amghars is not limited to the narrow region of the Atlas included between the Tizi Maᶜcho and the Tizi n Telwet, or in the country of the Sirwa, in that part of the mountains where the alliances of leffs between small autonomous "taqbilt" existed not long ago in a particularly stable form. One likewise observes it [171] in the other tribes of the south of Morocco, the same as in the • [184] Rif and in Kabylie /Kabylia/. Although these other minor chiefs are not called to so brilliant a career as that of their rivals of the high valleys of the Tichka, of the Nefis, or of Telwet, the conditions in which their power is born are identical with the ones that we have just studied; it will be easy for us to show that they, too, arise out of the quarrel of the soffs, grow more important through the war of the cantons, and at every point in the development of their policy follow the same rules that are imposed upon the amghars of the country of the Masmouda.

The examples that are offered us by the minor chiefs of the Ida Ou Tanan are all the more interesting to examine because this country lived in isolation in the nineteenth century, apart

/315 cont./

*631 *634 616 V. The minor chiefs of the Aït Waouzgit. -- The study of the politics of the chiefs of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa is not as simple as that of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, for the leffs of this region are less stable and more broken; and perhaps their lines of rupture are explained by the quarrels of the amghars established around the Sirwa for several centuries (1).

1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, p. 252.

[184] Without entering here into a detailed study of these small commands, whose origins, moreover, are still poorly known, it will suffice for us, by indicating their importance, to show that the position of these chiefs with respect to the tribes is identical with that of their rivals of the Atlas properly speaking.

175 *631 In the reign of Sidi Mohammed and of Moulay el Hasan, semi-independent minor chiefs who are /316/ the true masters of the Feija appear (1).

[131] 1. By this name of Feija, in the mouths of the functionaries of the Makhzen /makhzan/, one should understand the whole steppe that extends between the south versant of the Atlas and the desert, beyond the Warzazat. But, within the country, the term of Feija designates only the plain neighboring the Zenaga.

We know very few things about the constitution of their command. *[634] [616] [648] It is certain only that the Zanifi, amghar of Tazenakht, dominated the cantons of both leffs. In 1864, however, he was thrown into prison by the Sultan, who had led an expedition against him, in which most of the Masmoudian tribes and their kaids participated; it was then that the kaid of the Glawa received at intervals the mission of going to collect the tax at the head of the harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/, sharing this charge with the kaids of Demnat.

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*634 /346 cont./
*631 families who have entered the service of the new power will keep
616 their exemptions and maintain some ease in the general poverty.
652 In other commands, among the Mtougga, for example, the
178 notables of the kaid's tribe utilized in the administration and the
•184 government of the conquered regions often get the title of amghar
*631 in their own village. They command only members of their
*634 family, but thanks to their rank as amghar they avoid, for the
557 extraordinary contributions, being subject to the ruinous agency
554 of the caliphates and mokhaznis and deal directly with the great
chief. Among the Glawa, certain cantons remain privileged be-
184 cause they still furnish in great number minor chiefs and contin-
*631 gents in charge of keeping the distant tribes under the yoke.
*634 These missions abroad are rather profitable besides, and one thus
662 sees poor valleys, like that of the Ouneila, associated from the
first with the fortune of the master of Telwet, adorned with hand-
some dwellings. Their inhabitants have become rich in the serv-
ice of the lord and they have followed his example from afar by
building houses adorned with towers.

*631 While the domains increase, other residences also are seen to
rise around the house of the chief. They are those of his brothers
*634 and relatives who have participated with him in the conquest of
661 the tribes for some years. Tagontaft, Talat n Yaqoub in the Asif
602 Nefis, Bou Taradin in the small state of Mokhtar Seksawi, Boua-
boud of the Mtougga, the little basin of Telwet uniformly present
to us the same spectacle of the colonization of the best lands by
the chief's relatives, who also have become beneficiaries of the
corvées and lenders of money to the poor people.

*631 Finally, under the protection of the casbah, a small mellah
*634 /ghetto/ is established; Jews facilitate trade and conclude with
the Mussulmans /347/ all the bargains that the kaid could not
43 negotiate directly without blushing. By control of the important
443 souks /sooks/ at the foot of the mountains, the creation of large
563 annual fairs, such as the "mousem of Taouloukoult" of the
[543] Mtougga, the economic life itself is governed by the mountain
[655] chief, who takes possession little by little of all the country's
resources to the point that he will soon come to rent out the mo-
nopoly of the sale of commodities to friends or Jewish associates.

/378 cont./

648 modest fines, the "azzainnigran" (3).

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•[184]
[113]

3. One can thus compare the south of the Haha, little affected by the Makhzen penetration, whose tribes are divided into "khoms," veritable political units, and the north of the same country, whose khoms are no more than divisions established in view of the tax (cf. above, Book II, Ch. II, p. 199) and Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, rens. coloniaux /colonial information/, p. 11.

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[616]

In the whole of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ it is thus possible to follow the progressive decline of the ancient social units, all the more apparent in proportion as the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is intensified. The establishment of the new fractioning contributes toward effacing the division into leffs, diminishes the authority of most of the sheiks, who have become mere agents for the transmission of orders in /379/ the hands of the kaid; finally, the councils of notables and the "jema^c^a" play a role incessantly more effaced in the administration of the country and give way to the kaid.

648

VI. A great kaid in the service of the Makhzen.-- Such are the principal aspects of the policy and organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in its relations with the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the South of Morocco. A heavy machine that crushes the country and gets rid of the last traditions that the autochthonous chiefs had respected, erases the boundaries of the cantons, the memory of ancient alliances, and soon leaves no more confronting the sultan than an anonymous crowd of subjects whose sole role is to pay the tax.

/311 cont./

343 Agadir of Tizzirt (Fig. 19). -- Belongs to the village of
712 Tizzirt (50 hearths). Certain inhabitants own up to five chambers
621 there.
423 Same arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.
625 The guard is usually a man. As an exception, this job was
[562] entrusted to a widow in 1928.

Agadir of Announms (Fig. 8 and Fig. 20). -- It belongs to the village of Announms (65 hearths).

[465] Five stories, all 80 chambers occupied; the guard receives a
[685] kharrouba of barley per chamber and per year. In case of theft,
[184] the custom is the same as for the agadir of Ankoutouf.

Agadir of Tamjlojt (Fig. 21). -- It belongs to the village of
Tamjlojt (45 hearths). Sixty rooms, four stories. The guard receives
[465] one tmen of barley and one kharrouba of maize per room
[562] and per year. As an exception, this post was given to a woman
last year.

Agadir of Talmakant (Fig. 16). -- It belongs to the village
of Talmakant (40 hearths) and comprises 52 large rooms on two
[312] stories. It can serve both as storehouse and as réduit for defense
in case of attack, because of its cistern and its interior arrangement.

[682] /312/ It is in ruins in part; it has not been used any more
for 25 to 30 years because an assassination was committed there.

Agadir of Assaka (Fig. 17). -- Like the preceding one, it served both as storehouse and as fortress.

[669] It was destroyed in part following internal struggles in 1925,
and it is planned to put it back into condition. It serves at present
[727] to shelter the numerous exiles who returned to the tribe after
the submission and found their houses demolished.

Agadir of Azar (Fig. 18). -- It belongs to the village of Azar (28 hearths).

It normally serves as storehouse and in troubled times as
fortress. The rooms are mortgaged for 5 to 20 douros. The
[465] guard, changed every year, collects a kharrouba of barley, one
kharrouba of maize, and a pound of almonds.

/312 cont./

343 In case of theft, if the thief is discovered, he must, irre-
712 spective of the punitive sanction that is imposed on him by the
685 amghar /leader/ of the fraction, indemnify his victims. If the theft was committed through a hole made in the wall and if the thief is not discovered, the village in the midst of which the agadir is built is held responsible and must indemnify the victims
[625] of the theft. If the theft was committed after breaking open the entrance gate, the guard is held responsible, must indemnify the victims of the theft. The latter must bring 24 coswearers in order to certify the quantities that they declare was stolen from them.

343 Agadir of Amassa (Figs. 10, 11, 22). -- It belongs to the
712 people of Amassa (80 hearths), contains 80 chambers, 3 of
[621] which are on the fifth story, all are utilized; most of the doors
[423] are painted and worked. A room is mortgaged for 10 to 50
[426] douros and is sold for up to 100. The guard receives a kharrouba
[432] of barley per year and per room, except for three rooms on the
[625] fifth story, which pay nothing. In addition, the guard is fed, as
[465] the fqih of the mosque is at the present time in Berber country. He is supplied with three meals a day, each owner taking his
[685] day in turn. The three rooms on the fifth pay nothing, but in return they have no right to indemnity in case of theft.

[358] Each owner is obliged to make the repairs necessary to maintain [illegible] room in good condition. Thus the owner of one /313/ /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here/ /314 is blank/ /315/ /Figs. 7 and 8 appear here/ /316 is blank/ /317/ /Figs. 9 and 10 appear here/ /318 is blank/ /319/ /Figs. 11 and 12 appear here/ /320 is blank/ /321/ chamber may take action against the one of the one below, if it should happen to collapse, or against the one of the room above, if it lets water coming from the terrace
[685] leak through. In case of theft, the custom is the same as for
[184] the agadir of Ankoutouf.

[621] Agadir of Tajelt Oufella (Fig. 12 and Fig. 23). -- It be-
[423] longs to the village of Tajelt Oufella (33 hearths). It comprises 60 rooms and four stories.

/321 cont./

343 The guard is a volunteer who remains as long as he wishes,
712 if the users are satisfied with his services. Every year he is given
625 a half-kharrouba of barley per room, utilized or not; furthermore,
[465] he is fed by the owners of the chambers. A turn is established
as follows: if there are three rooms in height, each owner in
turn guarantees 3 meals a day; if there are four rooms in height,
the owners of the highest and lowest ones together guarantee a
day; the following day it is the owners of the middle chambers.
[358] The same rules as at Amassa are followed for the respective
[184] responsibility of the users in case of collapse or the infiltration
of water. The guard is responsible only for thefts committed
[685] after a break through the outer gate, not for those that have
been made through a breach in the wall. The thief, if he is
discovered, repays the amount of the theft and gives a cow that
is divided among the owners, taking into account the number of
chambers; the same rule is applied against the guard, if he is
responsible. The victims of the theft provide 24 coswearers.

343 Agadir of Meggount (Fig. 24). -- It belongs to the inhabit-
712 ants of the village of Meggount (80 hearths). The rules for its
621 operation are the same as at Tajelt Oufella in what concerns
423 poor maintenance and theft.
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[685]

[184] In all these collective storehouses, if repairs concerning the agadir itself and not only one room become necessary, all the co-owners are jointly liable. They carry out the work in common and, according to the number of shops they occupy, bear the costs caused by this repair, for the purchase of wood, the salary of the workers, or any other expenditure.

Imi n Tanout, 15 March 1928.
Lieutenant Pierre Dupas.

/Page 322 is blank, but precedes an unpaginated folded insert bearing Figs. 13-24./

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

241 Kensous (674), and Ida Oultit (726-729) carry out intensive agriculture,
[101] with every possible patch of ground being cultivated. Irrigation
[132] and terracing are both highly developed. In the lower mountains
wheat, barley, figs, other fruits, and vegetables are all cultivated,
with barley the staple product and food. In the higher mountains,
bordering on 7000 feet, wheat is entirely replaced by rye and
233 barley. Farming is everywhere supplemented by animal husbandry.
184 The farmers of the lower mountains and of the mountain valleys,
[241] where pasturage is scarce and poor, keep mostly cattle and goats,
which are tended by the women and children. In the high mountains
sheep become dominant, and double-transhumance (see
below) appears; the range of migration is much smaller than among
the Beraber, however. The herds are customarily tended by hired
shepherds, though during the summer displacement parts of families
may accompany them to the high pastures – the remainder
staying in the villages to tend the summer crops. Transhumance is
[221] not generally practiced by the mountain Shluh, however, because
of the scarcity of adquate pasturage (Adam, 1951, figs. 1-6, 16, 18-19
26; Dresch, 1939, pp. 29-56; Great Britain, 1919, p. 162; Johns
Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 64-66; Joly, et al, 1959, pp. 82-83,
fig. 40: Madras, 1948, pp. 9, 11, 13, 15, 16; Mercanton, 1944, p. 20;
Montagne, 1930, pp. 47-48; 1930, pp. 48-56, 58, figs. 18-22;
Robichez, 1948, pp. 16-31).

13 West and south of the mountains the country of the Shluh becomes
241 increasingly arid and agriculture increasingly difficult. The
argan tree zone lying along the coast between Essaouira (Mogador)
and Ifni, including the Sous valley, illustrates this clearly. Consisting
[101] of low valleys occasionally bisected by small rivers and covered
with argan trees, it is occupied by such groups as the Haha (530-541),
Ida Outanane (542-545), Ammeln (685), Ait Massa (702), and
241 Ait Oultit (726-729). Agriculture, held above subsistence with
difficulty and partly dependent upon an elaborate irrigation system,
is based primarily upon the cultivation of vegetables, olives, wheat,
233 and barley (the last two being largely dry farmed). Goats constitute
the dominant livestock, thriving on the nuts of the argan tree,
whose branches they climb. Some of the Arabic-speaking tribes
along the Sous keep cattle, sheep, and camels, but pasturage is
generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere.

613
Among the sedentary tribes the importance and function of the 621
commune varies greatly depending upon circumstances, particu- 184
larly upon the nature and independence of the community units. Among the Haha (530-541) the settlement pattern is one of widely dispersed households, and nucleated communities are rare; furthermore all the minor lineages within a commune are generally related
so that the commune is often equivalent to a major lineage. Under 613
these circumstances the interest and requirements of the commune 621
prevail over those of its component units, and the solidarity of the group is manifested by its sense of common origin, unity, and of *h'orma* or "honor" – the violation of which by an outsider sanctions
a vendetta. The commune has a special mosque, a communal [346]
granary, a communal cemetery, and communal property such as [343]
that surrounding the settlements, pastureland, and brushwood [764]
forests (where the members obtain their cooking wood and where [423]
they can attempt to grow a crop of barley if they wish to gamble on [313]
unirrigated land). The commune is also characterized by a repre- [623]
sentative council, and an elected or appointed chief; its principal [622]
functions are the maintenance of the communal mosque as a religious center, a school, and a communal center; the maintenance of the granary; the maintenance of the cemetery and its enclosure, and the distribution of lots to the member families; the arbitration and adjudication of boundary and property disputes between its members; the division of inheritances; the maintenance or lodging of strangers; the distribution of irrigation water; the policing of cultivated fields and of fruit trees; the planning and regulation of communal labor for plowing, harvesting, forest clearing, or irrigation works; and providing officials for certain domestic ceremonies, particularly weddings (Doutté, 1905).

In situations where villages have assumed most purely local administrative functions, the commune – and the larger unit, the district – concerns itself more with problems of political stability – adjudicating and arbitrating disputes between its component units, administering the commune market, and generally maintaining the peace. Hart's description of the commune (*fariqath*) among the Beni Uriaguel (99), who have well-developed village organizations, reflects this difference in emphasis: